

THE  
LITERARY REMAINS

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"I always look upon Dr. Bhau Daji as a man who has done excellent work in his life—and though he has written little, the little he has written is worth thousands of pages written by others"—*Max Müller.*



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## ON THE SANSKRIT POET, KA'LIDA'SA.

KA'LIDA'SA is justly regarded as the greatest of Indian poets and dramatists. His works have been translated not only into some of the vernacular languages of India, but within the last seventy-one years into English, German, French, Danish, and Italian. They are read in the original Sanskrit with greater critical acumen, and in the translations delight a larger number of readers in Europe than in the birth-land of the poet.

Native poets, commentators, and critics are lavish in their praises of Kálidása ; and it is not a little to his honor that the orientlists Jones, Wilson, Lassen, Chezy, Williams, and Fauche, but also that the poet, critic, and natural philosopher, —Goëthe, Schlegel, and Humboldt respectively, have assigned him a very high position amongst the glorious company of the "Sons of Song."

The four well-known lines of Goëthe in praise of Śakuntalá may here be repeated :—

"Would'st thou the young year's blossom and the fruits of its decline,  
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ?  
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ?  
I name thee, O Śakuntalá ! and all at once is said."

Alexander Von Humboldt says:—"Kálidása, the celebrated author of the Śakuntalá, is a masterly describer of the influence which nature exercises upon the minds of lovers. This great poet flourished at the splendid court of Vikramá-ditya, and was therefore contemporary with Virgil and Horace. Tenderness in the expression of feeling and richness of creative fancy have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations."

Professor Lassen, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," that wonderful and unrivalled monument of literary and antiquarian research, observes:—"Kálidása may be considered as the brightest star in the firmament of Indian artificial poetry. He deserves praise, on account of the mastery with which he wielded the language, and the fine sentiment with which he imparts to it a simpler or more artificial form according to the subjects of which he treats, without falling into the later hair-splitting and overstepping of the boundaries of good taste; on account of the multifariousness of his creations, his ingenious invention and happy choice of subjects; on account of the complete fulfilment of his poetical intentions; and on account of the beauty of his representations, the tenderness of his feeling, and the richness of his imagination. This praise is mostly deserved by his two Dramas, the *Śakuntalá* and the *Vikramorvaśi*. In the composition of these pieces he had only listened to the inspirations of his highly-gifted and conscious spirit, and he shows himself entirely independent of the influence of the school from which Bhavabhūti, who lived about A.D. 710, could not withdraw himself."\*

About seventy-five years ago, Sir William Jones introduced Kálidása to the notice of the European literary public, by his elegant translation of the Drama *Śakuntalá*. Professor H. H. Wilson gave a charming translation of the *Vikramorvaśi*, the "Hero and Nymph," the twinplay of *Śakuntalá*, in his well-known and esteemed work, the "Hindu Theatre," in 1837. The Sanskrit text, with a Latin translation, &c., was published at Berlin by R. Lenz, in 1833. Hirzel published a German translation also in 1833; F. Bollensen at Petersburg in 1846. The Sanskrit text, edited by M. Williams, was published at Hertford in 1848, and a prose translation by E. B. Cowell in 1857. The Sanskrit text of the *Meghadūta*, or

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\* Lassen's *Alterthumskunde*, Band. ii. p. 1168.

"Cloud-Messenger," with an admirable metrical translation into English, interspersed with many learned notes, was also published in 1832, by the late Professor H. H. Wilson, who combined with profound knowledge of every branch of Sanskrit literature, poetical talent of no ordinary character. This episode has also been edited by Professor Johnson in England, by Mr. J. Gildetmeister with the *Sringáratilaka* at Bonn in 1841, and by Dr. Max Müller at Königsberg. An edition, with Mallinātha's Commentary, has been published at Benares, and the text forms a part of Hœberlin's Sanskrit Anthology, which also contains Kālidāsa's *Srutabodha* and *Rītusanhāra*. The *Rītusanhāra* has been edited and translated by Bohlen, at Leipzig, in 1840; and the *Srutabodha* by M. E. Lancereau, at Paris, in 1855.

The "Raghuvansa," a heroic poem, was translated into Latin by Adolphus Fredericus Stenzler, and published in Paris in 1832. A translation into modern Greek was published by Mr. Typaldo, at Athens, in 1849. A metrical translation of the first book, by the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, appears in our Journal for 1843, and an analysis of the whole work by the Rev. J. Long, in the Journal Beng. A. Society for 1852. A. F. Stenzler published in 1838, in Sanskrit and Latin, the first seven Cantos of the *Kumārasambhava*, or "Birth of the War-God," which has also been rendered into English verse by Mr. Ralph T. H. Griffith, and published under the patronage of the "Oriental Translation Committee" in London, 1853. Of this beautiful poem, Mr. Griffith observes that, "The Birth of the War-God was either left unfinished by its author or time has robbed us of the conclusion. The latter is the more probable supposition, tradition informing us that the poem originally consisted of twenty-two cantos." In our search throughout Gujarat and the Deccan for ancient manuscripts, we have been fortunate enough to get three venerable copies of the entire poem, and a fourth one of the 8th, 10th, and 11th chapters, and we intend to take an early

opportunity of publishing the complete work in Sanskrit, with another poem of Kálidása in Mágadhí, (the *Setu-kávyá*), which has never been brought to the notice of the learned world.

The *Sakuntalá*, considered the gem of oriental literature, has been excellently translated into English prose by Professor Monier Williams, and published in a superb form in 1853 by Mr. Stephen Austin, who, "with an almost lavish liberality, has done everything to make the vehicle worthy of its contents."

Another edition (1853) with the Devanágari recension, literal English translation, and critical and explanatory notes, is still more valuable to the student of Sanskrit.

In 1842, Otto Böhtlingk edited the Devnágari recension of this play at Bonn. A German version of Sir William Jones's English translation was published by Forster in 1791; and versions of the English have appeared in Danish and Italian. This play, which inspired Goëthe with rapture, led Chezy to learn Sanskrit. Chezy put it into French; Hirzel, Böhtlingk, Ernst, Meier, and Lobedanz, succeeded one another in rendering it into German prose or verse. Sanskrit editions of the play in Bengali and in Devanágari characters have been published in Calcutta, the last (*Gaudhya* recension prepared by Premachandra Tarkavágísa Bhattácharya and edited by E. B. Cowell) only a few months ago.

The first volume of a translation of the complete works of Kálidása, by M. Hippolyte Fauche, appeared last year (1859), and besides the second volume, the author promises an "*Etude*" on the life and works of the Indian Bard.

The Puna Sanskrit College published some years ago an indifferent edition of the *Sakuntalá*, a few loose cantos of the *Raghuvansa*, and a single one of *Kumárasambhava*. The Sanskrit text of the *Málavikágnimitra* by O. F. Fullbery, and of the *Nalodaya* by F. Benary, two works attributed to Kálidása, were published at Bonn (1840) and Berlin respec-

tively ; also a German translation of the former by A. Weber, at Berlin, in 1856.

What, then, is the personal history of the poet, whose works are regarded as so classical, and command the esteem of the learned of all nations, and whose productions have been the subject of so much critical acumen and learned elucidation ?

Even the most accomplished of his native commentators, who is undoubtedly Mallinātha,\* preserves a painful silence as to the personal history of the poet ; and the most eminent orientalists have been compelled to admit, with regret, that not only no connected history of the life of Kālidāsa, and, indeed, of any of the other Sanskrit dramatic poets, can be furnished, but that there is considerable difficulty also in ascertaining the precise time at which the great poet lived.

The title of the Indian Shakspeare has been assigned to Kālidāsa on the authority of that prince of critics, Sir W. Jones. In the case of both Kālidāsa and Shakspeare, it may justly be observed that " their lives remain almost a blank, and their very name a subject of contention."

All that is generally known of Kālidāsa may be stated in a few words. He lived in Ujjayini or Oujein, and was the noblest of the nine men of genius who graced the court of Vikramāditya. A memorial verse gives the names of these nine " Gems " as follows :—

" Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetālabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kālidāsa, the renowned Varāha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama."

Of these the most celebrated are said to have been the physician Dhanvantari ; Amara Sinha, the lexicographer ; Varāha Mihira, the astronomer ; Vararuchi, the poet and

\* The age of Mallinātha himself is not clearly established. Mallinātha states that he wrote his Commentary after consulting those of Dakṣiṇāvar-  
1 ātha and others. He lived some time after the 14th century.

linguist ; and Kálidása, the poet and dramatist,—the brightest of them of all.

The word Vikramáditya signifies "Sun of Valour," and was assumed by many kings of Ujjayiní and of other kingdoms of India.

The Vikramáditya, at whose court the great Kálidása flourished, is generally believed to be the king who, after defeating the Śakas or Scythians, established the Samvat Era, which commences fifty-seven years before<sup>†</sup> Christ.

Sir William Jones, conceiving the Vikrama mentioned in the "memorial verse" to be the same as the founder of the Samvat Era, places Kálidása in the century preceding the Christian Era. Many eminent Orientalists have followed him in this opinion. He has thus come to be regarded as the contemporary of Horace and Virgil,—the reign of Vikramáditya at Ujjayiní rivaling in brilliancy that of Augustus at Rome.

Mr. Bentley, on the authority of the Bhoja-prabandha\* and the Ayín-i-Akbarí, supposed the patron of learning to be the same as "Rájá Vikrama, successor to Rájá Bhoja," in the eleventh century of the Christian Era. Col. Wilford and Mr. James Prinsep place Kálidása in the 5th century, and Mount-stuart Elphinstone adopts this date in his admirable History of India. In Gujarat, Malwa, and the Deccan, Kálidása is believed, chiefly on the authority of the Bhoja-prabandha, to have flourished at the court of Bhoja, the nephew of Munja, at Ujjayiní, in the 11th century of the Christian Era. There

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\* M. Theodore Pavie has published the Bhoja-prabandha with a French translation and occasional comments, in the Jour. Asiatique, t. iv. sér. 3e, p. 210 *et seq.*

This work is entirely untrustworthy, and has contributed much to mislead the early inquirers into Indian Antiquities. It is now scarcely necessary to point out all the errors of a book the compiler of which, ignorant alike of history and the true character of his heroes, was only bent on producing a light work to suit a modern, degenerated taste.

have been several Bhojas as well as Vikramas or Vikramādityas at Ujjayini, the last Bhoja having flourished in the 11th century of the Christian Era ; and to reconcile the two suppositions, it is necessary to suppose that the Vikrama or Vikramāditya, at whose court the " nine " learned men flourished, was also styled " Bhoja."

Professor Lassen assumes Kālidāsa to have flourished in the second half of the 2nd century after Christ, at the court of Samudragupta, chiefly on account of the designation, " friend of poets," applied to that king in inscriptions.

M. Hippolyte Fauche, who, it appears from the "Saturday Review" of January 1860, has published a French translation of the complete works of Kālidāsa, supposes the poet to have lived at the time of the posthumous child, who is said, at the end of the last canto of the Raghuvansa, to have succeeded to the throne.

This would place Kālidāsa, at the latest, in the eighth century before Christ. Mons. Fauche thinks there is nothing so perfect in the elegiac literature of Europe as the " Meghadūta " of Kālidāsa.

Professor Wilson avoids giving any decided opinion regarding the exact age of Kālidāsa, but it is clear that he had grave doubts respecting the contemporaneous existence of the poet with the Vikrama of the Samvat Era.

Colonel Tod, in " the Annals of Rajasthan," vol. i. p. 92. observes, " While Hindoo literature survives, the name of Bhoja Pramāra and the nine gems of his court cannot perish ; though it is difficult to say which of the three princes of his name is particularly alluded to, as they all appear to have been patrons of science." In a note, the learned Colonel gives, —Samvat 631 (A. D. 575), Samvat 721\* (A. D. 665), and

\* We possess a list of remarkable events, compiled by a Jaina priest, in which a Bhoja is said to have " peopled " Ujjayini in Samvat 723.

Samvat 1100 (A. D. 1044), for the first, second, and third Bhojas respectively.

There are good reasons for accepting the above dates as correct. A Vṛddha or older Bhoja is described in several Jaina works as having had for his spiritual adviser, Mánatunga Suri, about the second or third century of the Christian Era, calculating from the lists of Jaina hierarchy; but there is evidently some mistake here. Mánatunga was, according to some Jaina authorities, a contemporary of the poets Bána and Mayúra, but these two last undoubtedly lived at the beginning of the seventh century, as Bána, in one of his rare productions in Sanskrit, called the "Harshacharita," describes his visit to Harsha-Vardhana, King of Śrīkantha. There is abundant evidence to prove that this king, Harsha-Vardhana Śīlāditya, is identical with the Śīlāditya of Kanoge, who honoured the celebrated Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiouen-Tsang. Indeed, the Indian poet and the Chinese traveller relate the history of the king with so much similarity, that one would be disposed to believe that Bána wrote the Harshacharita after reading the historical notes of the Chinese traveller; and there is a singular passage in the work which would give a colouring to this supposition, in which Bána speaks of the Yavana-prayukta-purāṇa.

In looking carefully over the various legends regarding Vikrama, as given in the Vikramacharita; in the Sinhāsana dvātrīṃśati; in the Vetālapanchavīṃśati, an essay on Vikrama and Kālidāsa by Merutunga; in the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi; as well as in another called Chaturvīṃśati-prabandha, by Rājasekhara, it appears tolerably clear that the Vikramāditya, who founded the Samvat Era, or from whom it has its origin, was a just, brave, liberal and ambitious prince; but that he was the patron of arts and sciences is nowhere clearly stated or implied. Jaina records mention Siddhasena Sūri, a learned Jaina priest, as the spiritual adviser of this Vikramāditya.

Since the above remarks were written we have received a complete copy of the *Kathā-sarita-sāgara*, and going carefully over the stories of *Vikramāditya*, we were surprised to find in the 18th section, the statement that they had been related by the sage *Kaṇva* to the king *Naravāhanadatta* of *Kauśāmbī* in *Vatsa*. This *Vikramāditya*, the hero of many interesting fables, appears after all, to have flourished previously to the 5th century before Christ, i.e. before *Naravāhanadatta*, who, according to many Jaina authorities, the *Kathā-sarita-sāgara* and the *Matsya-purāṇa*, was the grandson of *Satānika*,\* the contemporary of *Mahāvīra* and *Sākya Sinha*. One of the ancient *Nassik* cave-inscriptions has a *Vikramāditya*, celebrated for his glorious deeds in the company of *Nabhāga*, *Nahusha*, *Janmejaya*, *Yayāti*, and *Balarāma*.† Thus it is clear that popular ignorance has assigned to *Vikramāditya* of the *Samvat* Era, glories to which he is not entitled. The whole subject is so complicated yet interesting, that we shall take an early opportunity of clearing up the history of the "*Vikramādityas*."

In the *Vikrama-charitra*, composed by *Śrī Deva*, of which the MS. in our possession was copied in *Samvat* 1492 (i. e. A. D. 1435), it is stated that 470 years after the *nirvāṇa* (death) of *Vardhamāna*, the last of the Jaina *Tirthankaras*, *Vikramāditya* flourished in *Viśālā* (*Oujein*) in *Avanti* *Deśa*. He released his subjects from debt and established his own era. There is no allusion to *Kālidāsa*.

Except the *Jyotirvidyābharana*, a Sanskrit treatise on astrology, ascribed in the concluding stanzas to *Kālidāsa*, we have not met with any work, in the Sanskrit or *Māgadhī* language, noticing the contemporaneous existence of the "nine gems" at the court of *Vikramāditya* of the *Samvat* Era. There are several works which mention a *Vikramāditya* or

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\* Wilson's *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, p. 462.

† *Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. v. p. 13

Bhoja in connection with the patronage of letters and arts, and particularly of Kálidása ; but the omission of any distinctive appellation leads to the inference that the patron of Kálidása and other learned men was a later monarch of that name, who was also styled Bhoja.

The conclusion to the *Jyotirvidábharaṇa*, which contains the verse respecting the " nine gems " so frequently quoted as a " memorial verse," without any one having been able to trace it to its source, is given entire below, as the author enters into chronological details regarding himself not met with in any of the well-known works of the great Kálidása.

*Translation of Chapter 22, containing twenty-one Verses.*

1. I now proceed to give in order the subjects already treated of, and to describe the joy-producing monarch, Vikrama.

[The 2nd to the 6th verse contains the names of the subjects, and the 6th verse states that the total number of verses in the book are 1,424, and that the book is named "*Jyotirvidábharaṇa Kāvya*."] ]

7. By me has this work been produced in the reign of Vikrama over Málava in Bhárata-varsha, which is rendered delightful by the study of the *Śrutis* and *Smritis*, and which contains 180 countries.

8. Sanku, Vararuchi, Maṇi, Anśudatta, Jishnu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghatakarpara, also Amara Sinha and other poets, adorned his assembly.

9. Satya, Varáha Mihira, Śruta Sena, Śrī Bádaráyani, Maṇittha, and Kumára Sinha, were the astronomers, and myself and other professors of astronomy also.

10. Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetálabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kálidása, the renowned Varáha Mihira and Vararuchi, are the nine gems of Vikrama.

11. Vikrama flourished, and at his court attended 800 Mándalika (minor) Rajas ; and at the great assembly there were 16 eloquent pandits, 10 astronomers, 6 physicians, and 16 reciters of the Vedas.

12. His army occupied 18 yojanas of ground ; his forces consisted of 3 crores of infantry, 10 crores of cavalry, 24,300 elephants, and 400,000 boats. No monarch could be compared to him.

13. He celebrated his victory over the world by the destruction of ninety-five Śaka chiefs, and established his era in the Kaliyuga ; and by daily giving in alms, pearls, gold, jewels, cows, horses and elephants, he brightened the face of dharma.

14. He destroyed the proud king of Dráviḍa, also the king of Láta, defeated the king of Gauda, and conquered him of Gurjardeśa, removed the darkness of Dhárá, delighted the king of Kámboja, and conducted himself with success.

15. His prowess and qualities were like those of Indra, Ambhodhí, Amaradru, Smara, and Meru. He was the delight of his subjects, and humbled his enemies by conquering and restoring their forts to them.

16. He protects the capital Ujjayiní, the great city which gives beatitude to its inhabitants, and which is celebrated for the presence of Mahákála.

17. In a great battle he conquered the king of the Śakas in Ruma, paraded his royal prisoner in Ujjayiní, and afterwards set him free. Such was his irresistible prowess.

18. Whilst Vikrama thus reigned in Avanti, the people enjoyed prosperity, happiness, and wealth, and the injunctions of the Vedas were everywhere observed.

19. Śanku and many other pandits and poets, and Varáha Mihira and other astronomers, flourished at his court. They respect the genius of me, who am a friend of the king.

20. Having first composed three Kávyas, i. e. the Raghuvansa and others, I composed several treatises on Vedic subjects (Śruti Karmaváda) ; then from Kálidása proceeded the astrological treatise called Jyotirvidábharaṇa.

21. 3068 years of Kali having passed, in the month of Vaiśákha I commenced composing the work, and completed it

in the month of Kártika. Having zealously examined many astronomical works, I have composed this treatise for the edification of astronomers."

In verse 46 of the 20th chapter he says:—

"The people of Kámboja, Gauda, Andhraka, Málava, Surájya, and Gurjara, sing even to the present day the glory of Vikrama, shining with the liberality of gifts of gold."

The existence of so distinct a statement in an astrological work of some pretensions to antiquity would have set the question of Kálidása's epoch at rest, but from a careful examination of its style, and from other internal evidence, it does not appear to be the production of the great Kálidása.

In furnishing a rule for finding out the Ayanánsa (the arc between the vernal equinoctial point and the beginning of the fixed Zodiac or first point of Aries) we are told in the work that from the number of years after Saka (i. e. the era of Śālivāhana, A.D. 78), 445 years should be subtracted, and the remainder divided by 60. This alone proves that the treatise was written at least seven centuries after the Vikrama Samvat, and there is abundant evidence to prove that the real author was of the Jaina persuasion. Also as Jishnu, the father of Brahmagupta,\* is stated to have graced the court of Vikramāditya in addition to the "nine gems," it is clear that the

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\* Brahmagupta gives the following date for the composition of his Siddhānta, of which we possess an excellent manuscript copy made in Samvat 1678.

त्रिंशत्पञ्चतिसके त्रिंशद्ब्रह्मसुतेऽप्येकवर्षात् ॥ पञ्चाशत्सुतैर्वर्षतः  
पञ्चमिरतीतैः ॥ १ ॥ ब्राह्मः सुतद्विदांतः सत्त्वगणितज्ञोऽपि श्रीले ॥  
त्रिंशद्वर्षात्तो लिख्यतुतमस्तुमे ॥ २ ॥ अथाव २४-आर्षा ७-८ ।

*Translation.*—'In the reign of Śrī Vyāghramukha, of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty five hundred and fifty years after Saka king (i. e. Śālivāhana, or A.D. 628) having passed, Brahmagupta, the son of Jishnu, at the age of thirty composed the Brahmagupta Siddhānta for the edification of mathematicians and astronomers" Chap. xxiv. A'ryā 7-8.

author of the *Jyotirvidābhāṣā* is sufficiently modern to have confounded Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, in the 6th century, with the founder of the Samvat Era.

The "memorial verse" so often quoted by learned men in proof of the existence of the "nine gems," at the court of Vikrama, thus loses completely its value as an authority. Besides, it is very doubtful whether there was any poet with the appellation of Ghatakarpara, the Kāvya bearing that title in many manuscripts being attributed to Kālidāsa.

Another writer, who assumes the title of Kālidāsa, is the author of *Śatruparābhava-grantha*, an astrological work treating of favourable opportunities for action, by determining the predominance of "svara" or breath, through the right or left nostril.

The first and last verses are as follows :—

नत्वा सुरासुरचरीनखिरत्नरश्मि विनीजतां ध्रुवगणं हृदि वादिदेवं ॥ श्रीका-  
लिदासगणकः स्वरवाक्यसारं यज्ज्ञानार्थं प्रवक्ष्याम्युपराधवाक्यं ॥ १ ॥

कासोत् कक्षपदं यजोर्कतनवातीराधिवासोद्भिजः श्रीतत्कार्त्तविचारसारचन्द्रः  
श्रीभाट्टभट्टः सुधोः ॥ तत्तु लोहृदिमङ्गिनिर्गलतदुर्ध्वोर्तिर्निर्दिशयन्धोः वाक्यं यजुः-  
पराधवाक्यमकरोत् श्रीकालिदासः कविः ॥ २ ॥

*Translation.*—"I, Kālidāsa Ganaka, after making obeisance to Hari, the A'di Deva, whose joint feet are resplendent with the rays of the jewels in the crowns of the Gods and Demons, proceed to give the substance of Svāra Śāstra, called *Śatruparābhava-grantha*.

"Deeply versed in the knowledge of the Śrutis and Smritis, and born in the race of Kasyapa, there lived on the banks of the Arkatanayā (Jumna), the talented Bhānubhatta brāhmaṇa. His son, whose body has been purified by devotion to Hari, is the poet Kālidāsa, the first among astrologers. He composed the Śāstra, called *Śatruparābhava*."

In the following (30th) verse, he says :—"To the current

Saka year add 12 and divide the sum by 60, the remainder is the year of the human cycle and the eleventh from it is the order of the Bārhaspatya cycle," (i. e. the cycle of Jupiter).

यक्षेसाके'वृत्तेकाणिः येषेभ्यः प्रभवदिकः

बहुव्ययानत सखाज्यैः स्वादीषर्षणितः ॥ १ ॥

He invokes Ganapati and then Vishnu. It is clear that he lived long after Śālivāhana ; and the style shows that he is not the author of the Śakuntalā and Raghuvansha.

Colonel Wilford, in an elaborate essay on Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana, gives a large collection of ill-digested facts, with his usual proportion of the wildest speculations on them; but it is not necessary to point out here all the mistakes that are patent to us, so that we shall deal only with those that relate immediately to the subject under consideration. Thus he writes —“ In the Śatrunjaya Māhātmya we read that after 466 years of the era are elapsed, then would appear the great and famous Vikramāditya ; and then, 477 years after him, Sailaditya or Bhoja would reign.

“ In the Ayeen Akbari, the various dates from the era of Vikramāditya are to be reckoned from the accession to the throne, in the middle ages of the Christian Era.”\*

The Śatrunjaya Māhātmya is a Jaina work, an abstract of which in the original Sanskrit, with a German translation, has been published by Weber (Leipzig, 1858). It professes to be the composition of Dhaneśvara Śūri, at the request of a Śilāditya of Valabhī, glorifying the Śatrunjaya mountain, which is the same as the hill of Palitāna in Kattiawar. The original passage is as follows :—

अस्मिन्निर्वाचतोवर्षैस्त्रिभिः सार्धे'व, जातकैः ॥ धर्मविज्ञानकः यज्ञपंचचारो  
भविव्यति ॥ १ ॥ ततः यतैश्चतुर्भिः षट्पट्टिभिर्वत्सदैर्द्विभिः ॥ पंचचत्वारिंशता-

\* Asiatic Researches, vol. ix, p. 142. The same opinions are repeated at p. 150

यि विप्रवाकोविहीनिना । १ ॥ सिद्धसेनोपदेशेनामखोलत्वजिनोक्तवत् ॥ अथ-  
 त्वं वत्सरं शुभ्रा खीयनाविष्कारिष्यति ॥ १ ॥ इति धर्मजयवाङ्मते १४ सर्गे । \*

Vīra i. e. Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, the last of the Jaina Tirthankaras says :—

“ Three years and five months and a half after my nirvāṇa (death) there will be O'Indra, the 5th Śrī ; [a chronological period according to an artificial arrangement of the Jains] ; and 466 years and 45 days after it, [the 5th Śrī] Vikramārka Rājā, honouring the advice of Siddhasena Sūri as the words of Jina, will free the earth from debt, and, setting aside the current era, will establish his own ”

It is clear then from this text, which we have collated with three old MSS. in our possession, that the Samvat Era replaced that of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra after 470 years. The same statement is made in several Jaina works of the Śvetāmbara sect which are in our possession. Colonel Wilford and his Pandits (the latter probably on purpose) confounded Vīra with Vikramāditya, who is also called Vīra Vikrama,—Vīra, signifying valorous : and further, by ignoring the first three and a half or four years, they have at one stroke thrown into their calculations a mistake of 470 years.

The 477 years after Vikrama, i. e. A. D. 420, is the date when, according to the Śatrunjaya Māhātmya, Śilāditya, king of Valabhi, expelled the Buddhists from Saurāshtra, recovered Śatrunjaya and other places of pilgrimage from them, and erected many Jaina temples.†

\* Ueber das Śatrunjaya Māhātmyam von Albrecht Weber, Leipzig, 1858, p. 92. Weber's text has काशीट्ठावकैः which would make a difference of three months. The text we have quoted is from two admirable manuscripts in our possession,

† Weber, *ibid*, p. 109, verse 286:—

कप्तकप्तनिष्ठांतावतिप्रवृत्तःयतीन् विप्रवाकोविष्कारिष्यति ॥ इति  
 कप्त ॥ सर्ग १४ श्लोक २८६ ।

Few Orientalists now a days rely upon the speculations of Colonel Wilford; but some of his errors are still supported and perpetuated by distinguished writers on Indian Antiquities.

Professor H. H. Wilson meets with difficulties in reconciling the statements of the *Rājataranginī* or History of Káśmīr, on the assumption of Vikrama's existence at Ujjayini in the 5th century (Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 39); but he observes (p. 87): "It seems likely that the VIKRAMA'DITYA, who put the Brahman MA'TRIGUPTA on the throne of *Cashmir*, was the prince of that name who lived in the 5th century, or in 441." "The VIKRAMA'DITYA of the 5th century reigned, it is said, 100 years, dying in A. D. 541, but according to the *Satrunjaya Māhātmya*, *Silāditya* was king in 447." Here, besides admitting Colonel Wilford's erroneous data in regard to Vikrama, a second incorrect assumption is made of the identity of the *Silāditya* of the *Satrunjaya Māhātmya*, with *Silāditya*, the son and successor of Harsha Vikramāditya. The *Silādityas* have become as great a source of confusion in Indian chronology as the various *Vikramādityas* and *Chandraguptas*; and, to prevent repetition, we shall here remark that the oldest *Silāditya* we read of in the Jaina records is the son of Subhagá, daughter of Deváditya Bráhmaṇa, of the village of Khatá in Gurjardesa.

Subhaga became a widow in her childhood, but according to the chronicles of Gujarat\* conceived afterwards by the Sun and gave birth to twins. The male child became renowned as *Silāditya*. He destroyed the king of Valabhi and became the lord of Sauráshtra; but was himself slain in the sack of Valabhi in A.D. 319 by the Mlechas or Sakas.† This is the date of the commencement of the Valabhi Samvat, first made out by Col. Tod from an inscription.‡

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\* "Rás-Málá or Hindo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India." By Alexander Kiuloch Forbes, Vol. I, p. 13 *et seq.*—Mr. Forbes' work is a most valuable contribution to the annals of Gujarat.

† They are called "Sakas", by Merutunga and Rájasekhara.

‡ Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." Vol. I, p. 801

In our opinion, it is also the commencement of the Gupta Kāla or the Gupta Era, although apparently, weighty arguments have been adduced to show that this era commenced with the overthrow of the Gupta Dynasty. The dynasty has been brought to light by the translation of the inscription on the Allahabad column by Dr. Mill, subsequently revised by Mr. Prinsep, also by the numismatic researches of Prinsep, Lassen, Thomas, and Cunningham. The inscription\* facing the north, on the stone near Junāgaḍa which was copied in 1842, by General LeGrand Jacob and N. L. Westergaard, contains allusions to Skandagupta; and the date one hundred and thirty-seven of the Gupta Era, when Parnadatta constructed a bridge over the Palāśinī.

The second Śilāditya was of the Yadu family. He ruled over Saurāśṭra at the commencement of the fifth century and has already been noticed. He presided over 18 Rājās at Valabhī, which was therefore then in existence.

The third Śilāditya is the one noticed by Col. Tod, as having been killed at the sack of Valabhī by barbarians in A. D. 524.† Some important change appears undoubtedly to have occurred about this time in the government of Valabhī,

\* This copy is published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1842. We hope soon to be able to give a translation of the inscription. "Up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purport and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April 1838"—(Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, 1858, Vol. I p. 247). We may here add that, in our opinion, the Kūhaon pillar inscription is dated in the 141st year of the Gupta Dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease, as deciphered by Prinsep. (*Ibid.* p. 250.)

† Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan." Vol. I. p. 217.—In the numerous Jaina works in our possession, we have not met with any account of the destruction of Valabhī in A. D. 524, and as Col Tod's account of the catastrophe is very similar to what is related to have occurred in A. D. 319, it is probable that two different dates have been assigned to the same event.

as the date appears to correspond with the establishment of the dynasty of the kings commencing with Bhattāraka Senapati, brought to light in Mr. Wathen's Valabhi *copper-plate grants*\*; their dates 365 and 380 being from the Valabhi, and not from the Vikramāditya Samvat, as hitherto supposed.

There are four Śilādityas noticed in these "*Grants*" as belonging to the dynasty. Harshavardhana of Canoge, the patron of Bāna and Hiouen-Tsang, and the subject of a biography by both with extraordinary coincidence of facts, had, it appears, the title of "Śilāditya"† and the Chinese pilgrim, also gives the title to a king of Malwa, who ruled about 60 years before this period. The "*Rājataranginī*" applies the title to the son and successor of Harsha-Vikramādityas of Ujjayinī. This exhausts the list of "Śilāditya" known to us at present.

To return to the "*Rājataranginī*," we subjoin a translation of that portion of the 3rd Book which is calculated to throw light on the subject under consideration. In the words

\* Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. p. 497 — Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. I. 262 *et seq.* The King of Valabhi who was contemporary with Hiouen-Tsang (about A. D. 644) is styled "Dhruva-pattah?" He was, according to the Chinese pilgrim, a son-in-law of the son of Harshavardhana or Śilāditya.—Hiouen-Tsang speaks of the kingdom of Valabhi, but gives no description of the city beyond its extent. He visited A'nandapura, the modern Wadnagara according to the learned author of the *Ras-Mālā*. This Dhruvapattah is to be identified with Mahārāja Dharapattah of the *copper-plate grants*.

The "*Kalpa-Sūtra*" of the Svetāmbara Jainas is said to have been publicly read at A'nandapura in the reign of Dhruvasena, the son of Virasena, in A. D. 468. If he be one of the kings noticed in the *copper-plate grants*, the event is ante-dated by about a century. (See the "*Kalpa-Sūtra*" and "*Nava-Tatva*," translated by the Rev. J. Stevenson, D D., London, 1848, p. 96) .

† "*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang traduite du Chinois par Stanislas Julien*, Paris 1858, p. 220 *et seq.* Also "*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*," par M. Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1858.

of Kalhana Pandit, "The history of the three kings Vikramāditya, Mátrigupta and Pravarasena, who resembling each other, in their dispositions for virtue, [and therefore having] honored each other, resembles the water of Gangá, which flows in three channels," ("Rājatarangini," verse 323, Book 3rd.)\*

TRANSLATION OF THE "RĀJĀTARANGINI." BOOK III.

102.† Hiranya and Toramāna his [Śreshthasena's], two sons and successors destined to govern together the kingdom as King and Minister, were the delight of the world.

\* Professor Wilson observes (Asiatic Researches Vol. XV., p. 1.) "The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered to which the title of 'History' can with any propriety be applied, is the Rājatarangini, a History of Kashmir." \* \* \*

The portion translated by us is by "Kalhana Pandit," who wrote about A. D. 1148. We have consulted the Calcutta ed. A. D. 1835; the Sanskrit text, and also the French translation by Mons. Troyer.

Wherever we have given a different translation from the learned French Sanskrit scholar, we have done so intentionally, and with the sanction of the best Pandits on this side of India. The following remarks of Mr. E. Thomas, on the period of Kashmirian history under review, are, we think, perfectly correct—"Major Cunningham's ratiocinations towards the general settlement of the relative epochs, is based primarily upon the assumed fact of Hiranya and Toramāna having been contemporaries of the 3rd Vikramāditya of Ujjain (S. 466—A. D. 409), whom the author, in preparatory training for the more complete development of the same idea in his subsequent works, identified with the Chandragupta of the Gupta-Coin Series, and the 3rd Vikramāditya. I do not at all wish to contest that, there may have been one of the many monarchs who assumed the supplementary titular designation of 'Vikramāditya' ruling over Malwa at, or about this period, and that, the potentate in question, may well have been a contemporary of Toramāna of Kashmir, whom, judging from the style of writing on his coins, I should not desire to place so early as Wilson and Troyer have done."—(Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II.. p. 242.)

† The "numbers" refer to the Ślokas in Troyer's edition.

103. Toramána, having suppressed the multitude of small coins [or coins struck by Bála] that were current, put in circulation "dinars" struck in his own name.

104. The elder of the Kings, said to himself, "How he despises me, and acts as if he were the sole sovereign," and in anger, he caused him [Toramána] to be thrown into prison.

105. Anjaná, the daughter of Vajrendra, of the family of Ikshváku, the spouse of the captive, whose long imprisonment made her forget her grief, became pregnant.

106. She was informed by her husband that her delivery was near. Having entered not without shame, into the house of a potter, she was delivered of a son.

107. This child of the King was brought up with care by the wife of the potter as if he had been her own son, just as a young cuckoo is nourished by a female crow.

108. Thus he was known to his mother and to the potter's wife, his guardian, as a hidden treasure is known to [our mother] earth and to the guarding serpent.

109. The King's son being, according to the declaration of his mother, grand-son of Pravarasena, was named by the potter's wife after his grand-father.

110. The child while growing refused to mix with his [low] neighbours : as the Lotus, delighting in the friendship of the sun, avoids the contact of the waters.

111. The people saw him with astonishment in the games, when associated with young people of noble family and with those who were endowed with valor and with knowledge.

112. Distinguished by his company for very great vigour, he was created 'king' by the young men, as the young lion is acknowledged superior by other young wild beasts that prowl in the forests.

113. He skilfully managed, treated kindly or subjugated the young people, and never behaved in a manner unbecoming a rájá.

114. Having received a mass of loam, placed before him by the potters to make pitchers and other similar things, he formed of them a series of Siva-lingas.

115. Admirable in his conduct, —as he was one day playing, he was noticed by Jayendra, his (maternal) uncle, who made him happy by the attention bestowed upon him.

116. Jayendra having been introduced by the children to him, the young man received him [his uncle] as a king [viz.] regarded him with haughtiness.

117. Jayendra seeing so many proofs of vigour, concluded that he was not descended from a vulgar family, and on account of his resemblance to the husband of his sister, suspected him to be her son.

118. With a desire to discover the truth without delay, he followed him, and on arriving in the house, he saw his sister with painful surprise.

119. The brother and sister contemplated each other long with sadness, and allowed their warm tears, interrupted by sighs, to flow freely.

120. The supposed son of the potter's wife asked : "Mother, who are these two persons?" She replied : "My child, this is thy mother, and that, thy (maternal) uncle."

121. Jayendra, after having instructed the young man, who was indignant at the imprisonment of his father, that he must with patience wait for a favourable opportunity, departed to accomplish his design.

122. Whilst Jayendra was preparing himself for the work of vengeance, Toramāna, a sun amongst men, died.

123. Then Pravarasena, dissuaded his mother from devoting herself to death ; but being afflicted, and therefore impelled by desire for pilgrimage to the holy places, proceeded to distant regions.

124. Hiranya also, after having governed the country during thirty-one years less ten months, died without leaving posterity.

125. At the same time, the Śrīmāna Vikramāditya, otherwise called Harsha, ruled in Ujjayinī, as Emperor of all India.

126. The goddess Śrī served this king, who was blessed with unusual happiness, by attaching herself to him with pleasure, having, for him, abandoned the arms of Hari and the four Oceans.

127. Making use of wealth, as a means [of usefulness], he made the virtues flourish ; and thus, till this day, men of talent sit with their heads high in the midst of rich people.

128. Having first destroyed the Śakas, he made easy the burden of the work to Hari, who was to descend to the earth to exterminate the Mlechas.

129. The Kavi, named Mātrigupta, went to see the lord of the world whose fame had extended to distant countries, and who was then seated in the midst of an assembly of accomplished men, to whom he was always accessible.

130. The poet, who had accumulated wisdom in different situations, having thought of the marvellous greatness of the king's good qualities and depth of understanding, abandoned himself to the following reflection :—

131. "This protector of the world, so fond of men of talent, was found by me through my good acts. The history of former kings only brings out the greater excellence of this monarch.

132. "During his reign the servants who know the Śāstras perfectly, and who are versed in the Vedas, are never deprived of the manifestation of respect due to rank and quality.

133. "The councillor, making with spirit an exposition of his project before him, never experiences the inutility of his skill, as the entreaties of a woman of family, are never neglected by her lord.

134. "As he steps the discourses of the malicious, and distinguishes that which is convenient from that which is not, —true merit in serving him never loses its reward.

135. "Before him, men of talent never feel themselves mortified by seeing well-instructed men placed on the same level with ignorant ones.

136. "The distribution of favors fixed according to a just standard by some one who knows how to judge us, is never envied by generous souls with frequent sighs.

137. "This King, who discovers the hearts of men, receiving with just honors the talent peculiar to each, encourages the efforts of all those who surround him.

138. "The fatigue produced by the skilful zeal of the servants serving the master who takes notice of their pains, is never considered as the sale of ice on Mount Himavat [fruitless].

139. "The man who has a false reputation for merit, never enjoys the confidence of this King; a quarreller is never his councillor; a violator of his promises never occupies a place at the court of this monarch.

140. "His domestic servants never make use of improper language, they neither attack each other with bad pleasantries, nor with discourses that wound the heart, neither are they jealous of the approach of others, nor are they conspirators.

141. "This King never sees the faces of people who seek their own interests only, who boast of their own knowledge, and who are blinded by the pride of universal knowledge.

142. "A conversation with the monarch leads to increasing prosperity, which suffers no interruption from persons of low birth and bad morals.

143. "If, by my merits I am introduced to the King, who is free from all vice, and is worthy of veneration, then the fulfilment of my wishes is not distant.

\* 144. "Endowed with profound intelligence, a discernor of merit, and of a firm disposition, this King appears to be worthy of being served, by me who feel freed from all fears of difficulties.

145. "Yes, wandering upon this earth, I do not see any other master so worthy of respect as he,—who is not like other kings, that delight in depriving people of their wealth."

146. Having made these sound reflections, how should not he have desired this so-to-say, new society. How would he not have joined himself to the society of the learned by going amongst them !

147 The King observed the intrinsic capacity of the man who sought to be employed, and who showed his qualities slowly.

148. He reflected thus :—"This man of great mind might well be more than an ordinary man of talent, and his merit deserving of reward."

149. Having so reflected, the Rájá, in order also to test his character by submitting it to trial, did none of those honours to him which are usually paid on receptions.

150. The sage in spite of this want of favor, knowing that the King was of a benevolent disposition and entertained very liberal sentiments, served him very contentedly.

151. The zeal of the sage which increased from day to day, was taken no more notice of by the King than if it had come from a part of his own attendants.

152. Nevertheless, by a perseverance which never exceeded the just measure, as an autumnal night neither too long nor too short pleases the moon, the King was propitiated by him.

153. Mátrigupta did not allow himself to be disconcerted either by the jokes of the slaves of the house, or the changing stratagems of the chamberlains, or by the mendacious praises of infamous debauchees.

154. When the King spoke to him kindly he remained firm as *akháyá-graha* ; (i. e. did not become elated), neither did he become irritated when neglected by his master.

155. Being a man of discernment, he never turned his head towards the King's slave-women, nor associated with

people lying under the displeasure of the King ; and whilst with the Rájá, never held conversation with menials.

156. He never incurred the displeasure of the King, which might have been excited against him by the people of the court, by habitual backbiters around the King, or by those who lived upon espionage.

157. He did not suffer himself to be seduced into relaxation of zeal by those who were opposed to a zealous performance of duty, and who daily repeated that from perseverance in the King's service no recompense was to be hoped for, and other similar sentiments.

158. He took every opportunity of proclaiming the merits of others and by modestly exhibiting his own learning, gained the hearts of honest men.

159. Thus, in serving the King with the greatest zeal and without discouragement, Mátrigupta spent six seasons (one year).

160. As the Rájá was going out one day, and saw this man, emaciated, grey haired, and dressed in old clothes, he began to reflect within himself thus :—

161. " This stranger full of merit, without protection, without friends and relatives, has been subjected to much suffering on my account, who desired to test his firmness.

162. " Who is his protector ? Who feeds, who clothes him ? Alas ! all this has never been considered by me, who am overcome by his superiority.

163. " He, a human tree, becoming attenuated by cold, by wind and by the heat of the sun, has hitherto not been visited by me with one single ray of vernal light.

164. " Who offers him relief when he is sick, refreshment when he is fatigued, consolation when he is in despair ? Who offers him anything, when he is in want of everything ?

165. " I cannot give him the jewel of desire, nor the nectar of immortality." Oh, that this man who has so faith-

fully served me, should have been put to so rude a trial on my account, without reason !

165. " By what manifestation of favor shall I discharge my debt to him who is full of merit, and whom I have so reduced by such severe treatment ? "

167. After the king had made these reflections, no opportunity offered itself to him for a long time of rewarding this servant in a manner commensurate with his own good wishes towards him

168. Then came on winter, when the whole body is frozen, as it were, by cold winds and falling snow.

169. The regions subjected to such severe cold and under continual darkness appeared as if covered by a blue veil.

170. As the sun, this jewel of heaven, tormented by the cold, and desirous of enjoying the sub-marine fire, hastened, so to speak, to rejoin the ocean, the days decreased in length.

171. One day, the King fortunately awoke at midnight, in his palace which was lit by the light of lamps and blazing furnaces.

172. He saw before him the lamps much agitated by the winds of winter, which, rude and noisy, had made their way through the small holes in the house and had extinguished them.

173. Desiring to relight the lamps, he called to the servants who watched through the night outside, saying, " Who is there ? "

174. And while they were all dead asleep, a voice replied from thence, " Rájá, he who is before thee, Mátrigupta, here am I. "

175. " Enter, " said the King, and this order having been given by the Rájá himself, he entered without being challenged into the palace, rendered delightful by the presence of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.

176. " Light the lamps ! " continued the King, which

having been done by cautious steps, Mátrigupta began to retire, when the King added :—" Wait a moment."

177. Mátrigupta, doubly suffering from fright and cold, and distracted by the thought of not knowing what the King might be about to say to him, sat down trembling at a short distance from his majesty.

178. Then the King asked : "How much of the night he has waned !" He replied : "Virtuous lord, only one watch of the night remains."

179. Then the Monarch continued, "How knowest thou so well the time of the night ? Hast thou had no sleep this night ?"

180. Mátrigupta in a moment, composed the following *shloka*, and reciting it to the King, informed his majesty of his case, being ready to abandon at once hope or misery :—

181. "Where is the sleep of a man who is tormented by cold ; who is plunged during one whole, unhappy month into an ocean of grief ; who blows with blistered tips the smouldering fire ; whose throat is contracted with hunger ? My sleep has gone far from me, like an ill-treated, repudiated wife, and my night is not shortened after the manner that the land granted to a good person never deteriorates."

182. The King having heard this *shloka*, and having consoled, by kind words, the great poet who was thus burthened with sadness, sent him back to his former place.

183. And then reflected thus :—"Shame upon me, who having heard the discourse of this man, full of burning grief and suffering with all his merits, have nevertheless left him in the same state."

184. "Believing that my kind words are useless like those of other men and not knowing my heart, no doubt he has again sat down outside overwhelmed with grief.

185. "Although I have been most anxiously considering for a long time what precious and worthy favor I could confer upon him, yet nothing has occurred to me up to this moment.

186. "His skilful speech however, calls to my memory, that at present, the desirable kingdom of Kásmíra is without a ruler.

187. "Let me then give that country to this worthy man, and let me put aside other princes for this purpose, although they be powerful and rich."

188. Having taken this firm resolution, the King secretly sent messengers that very night to the Council of Kásmíra

189. And the following order, viz :— 'Let the person named Mátrigupta, as soon as possible after he shows you this order, be installed king of Kásmíra.'

190. The King having got his order written and completed the business, and the messengers having departed, retired for the remainder of the night.

191. Mátrigupta, believing his conversation with the King had been useless, gave up all hope and thus even, felt as if relieved of a burden.

192. He also thought within himself thus :—"What was to be done, is done ; my uncertainty is at an end to-day ; abandoning the demon of hope, I shall now walk without care."

193. "How I erred in attaching myself to the service of another ! what have I learnt by following the discourse of the people but servitude ?

194. The troops of serpents which nourished themselves alone by wind, are called (*bhógina*) eaters ; the elephants who chase away bees that hum so sweetly are distinguished by the name of (*vistírna karna*) possessors of great [good] ears ; the tree which contains fire in its bosom, is called (*samí*) calm : thus, in the loose and useless language of the world, everything is misrepresented.

195. " Nevertheless this King is accessible to everybody, and through him the houses of his friends become dear to Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity.

196. "What then, is the fault of this liberal Monarch who

is so free from all vice ? Rather must my want of virtue be blamed as the obstacle to my fortune.

197. "When the sea dispersing its brilliant waves of pearls is so opposed by the winds, that they are pushed back from the shore, it is certainly the misfortune of the person who seeks a benefit," and not want of liberality on the part of those who would bestow it

198. "To those who seek benefit quickly, the servants of the king are esteemed great, and not their lords who are not to be propitiated except by severe labour,

199. "Those who maintain themselves at the feet of the lord of beings (Siva) do not obtain first anything but the ashes, but those who attach themselves to his Bull, what happy days do they procure for themselves for ever by the acquisition of the brilliant gold !

200. "But by reflection, I see no fault in myself, which having been remarked by this King whom I have served, might have made him conceive aversion for me.

201. "Besides, who is he, who not having been honorably presented by another, could, even with pains, expect to receive favors ?

202. "The ocean changes into precious pearls the drops of water, which first attracted by the clouds, afterwards fall down again from them ; receives them, and after they have been seized by the bracelets of the waves, they roll for ever into its bosom. It is thus, that often when introduced with respect by another, a man, although of slight merit, is honored by the King."

203. Having made these reflections, he began to neglect all manifestations of respect. Even the mind of a man of steady principles is led astray when overwhelmed with misery.

204. When the night had passed, and King at morn sat in the assembly, he said to the chamberlain, "Let Mátrigupta be called ?"

205. And after more than one chamberlain had been

despatched, Mátrigupta, resembling a man who had become hopeless, entered and approached the King.

206. Having inclined himself several times, the King by a movement of his brow caused a writing to be given to him through his chief Secretaries.

207. Then he spoke to him himself as follows :—"Friend, knowest thou the country of Kásmíra? go there and present this order to the authorities of the country.

208. "Accursed be he by me who reads this writing on the road! Let this be carefully remembered, and let it never be forgotten."

209. Not knowing the intention of the King, and expecting nothing but misery himself, Mátrigupta saw in this order nothing but a burning fire, and not the growing splendor of a jewel.

210. He replied : "Thy order shall be obeyed." Mátrigupta having departed, the King remained without pride, as before, in conversation with his intimates.

211. Then the King was blamed, when Mátrigupta was seen to depart unprovided for the journey; on account of his being feeble, incapable of supporting fatigue, and entirely without friends.

212. It seemed strange, that the King should employ this man who was so respectable, in an affair fit only for the vulgar.

213. This inconsiderate king, considered they, thinks Mátrigupta nothing but a common man, one too, who served him day and night, suffering fatigue without hope. The King thinks him only fit for toil and trouble.

214. It often happens that the servant who takes every opportunity of serving his master is not thought fit for anything better.

215. Desirous of attaining happiness by re-assuring himself against *Garuda*, the formidable enemy of serpents, Śesha left his previous happy state and converted his body

into a bed for *Vishnu*, the enemy of the *Asuras* ; but the painful task of carrying the burden of the earth which has no limits, was imposed upon him by this god, who knew his capacity for supporting fatigue.

216. This skilful man, who saw himself superior in talent to the able men who were patronized by the King, served the King with hope.

217. Who is there more discriminate, who has shown more qualities than *this* *Mátrigupta* ? and thus it is that the prince has honored this man of merit.

218. The peacock thinks thus : " The cloud is pleased by a variety of resplendent forms, although the rainbow, which is the weapon of *Sakra*, is only an unsubstantial one. When he shall have seen my tail with affection, what agreeable favors will it not shower down on me ? " He thinks thus, and spreading out the circle of his tail dances round. But the cloud after all, only presents him with a few drops of water. Who is more heartless than the cloud ?

219. No suspicion, however, of his future greatness arose in the mind of *Mátrigupta*, as he travelled on and without anxiety.

220. But at length aroused to splendid expectations by signs foreboding happiness.

221. He saw in a dream, on the road, a little bird (*Khanjarila*,) seated upon the forepart of the crest of a serpent; and then he saw himself raised to the top of a palace and carried across the ocean.

222. Versed in the *Sástras*, he thought thus :—" On account of these signs which announce happiness, the mission, with which the king has entrusted me, will produce good."

223. " How small soever the advantage may be that I can at first acquire among the people of *Káśmíra*, will it not in course of time increase, on account of the grandeur of this infinitely rich country ? "

224. Thus he travelled on without pain ; the hospitable

houses and good receptions of the inhabitants favouring him at every step.

225. At last he saw before him Mount Hima reaching to the sky, covered with verdure and waving trees, and white like a beautiful vase of coagulated milk, full of good omen.

226. Winds that bore the perfume of the gum of the *salula* [cypress] tree, and drops of the Gangá, came to meet him whilst he was approaching these fertile and renowned lands.

227. He reached the place called Kramavarta, and the town of Kámbuva, which yet exists under the name of Súrapura.

228. In this place, which was filled with a varied population, he heard, that the great councillors of Káśmíra had become assembled for some business.

229. Then, having thrown off his old vestments, and having dressed himself in white robes, he went to them in order to present the King's letter.

230. As during his walk, omens announcing his fortune had appeared, some travellers followed him in order to see the results of these signs.

231. The porters having been informed that an envoy from Vikramáditya had arrived, announced him quickly to the councillors of Káśmíra.

232. "Let him come, let him enter," was repeated on all sides; and he freely approached the assembled chiefs.

233. Having received him as a prime minister of the King with the usual honors, they made him sit upon a distinguished seat which they assigned to him.

234. After which honors, he was interrogated by the Councillors as to the order of the great King, when he presented the "writing" with much shyness to them.

235. Then bowing themselves to the "writing" of the King, they held a secret meeting, and having opened the "writing" and read it in a low voice, they said respectfully:—

236. "Is thy revered name Mátrigupta?" "Yes," replied Mátrigupta to them with a smile.

237. "Who is here? who is there?" Thus they were heard to say on all sides. Then it was seen that preparations for the installation of a King were arranged.

238. In an instant the place, agitated by a great multitude of people, who made a confused and formidable noise, resembled a troubled sea.

239. Then Mátrigupta was placed upon a magnificent seat of gold facing the east, and being surrounded by the principal authorities, he was installed King with the usual ceremony.

240. Now the water of purification, which [from the golden vase] rushed audibly over his body (the breast of which was firm like a bank of the Vindhya mountains) shone like the torrent of the Revá.

241. Then the people were informed that the King, having had his body bathed, anointed, and loaded with ornaments, had ascended the royal throne.

242. Installed by king Vikramáditya who had been prayed to protect this land himself, they addressed Mátrigupta in these terms :—"Govern us and this country as if we belonged to thee."

243. "Kingdoms are not acquired every day. Despise not, O King, this country for being compelled by others to accept it."

244. As parents are the authors of the immediate birth, which is dependent on one's actions [in a former state of existence], so from a king or from others, proceeds the authority for the administration of a kingdom [i. e. Mátrigupta was entitled to it from his previous good career].

245. This being the case, when you say "I am indebted to you," you do injustice to yourself and to us, by thinking less of yourself.

246. Although they had pronounced this true discourse,

Mátrigupta, reflecting upon the gratitude he owed to King Vikramáditya, remained for a moment smiling.

247. And celebrating the festival with gifts and liberality worthy of the acquisition of a new kingdom, he terminated the day full of happiness.

248 The next day, invited by the Councillors to make his entrance into the town, he despatched his ambassador with wonderful presents, to him who had given him the kingdom.

249 Feeling that this might suggest a semblance of rivalry with his master on account of the prosperity of the country, he felt ashamed, and thought he was culpable.

350. Then after having called other servants in order to show what he thought of the respect due to a master, he sent him as presents, some eatables, though of little value.

251. Recalling to mind the incomparable virtues of the King, his eyes became filled with tears, and he himself wrote the following sloka and sent it to him privately :—

252. "Thou givest not one sign, thou squanderest no praises ; thou dost not even announce thy intention of giving, and nevertheless thou sendest beautiful fruits."

The 113th sloka of the "Megha Dúta," which is identical in sentiment with this last verse, has been rendered by Professor Wilson as follows :—

"To thee the thirsty chatacas complain ;  
Thy only answer is the falling rain ;  
And still such answer from the good proceeds,  
Who grant our wishes, not in words, but deeds."\*

Regarding Harsha Vikramáditya, Professor H. H. Wilson has made the following observations :—

"Who was this prince ? As the enemy of the Sacas, and also from our author's chronology, he is synchronous with Śáliváhana, with whom indeed, notwithstanding a difference

\* The ("Megha Dúta" or "Cloud-Messenger," p. 118.) A'rya 10 Sarga 3 of the "Śetu Kavya," is of the same import

in date of 135 years, all the Hindu accounts represent him to have been engaged in hostility. We have had a Vikramāditya before him in this history, not the Śacāri as expressly remarked by the historian, and therefore, we cannot doubt our author's meaning, although we may question his chronological correctness, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show it is singular that, in a very long eulogium on this prince, which I have not thought it necessary to translate, the author never alludes to Śālivāhana, nor to any of the literary ornaments usually assigned to Vikrama's court. This Harsha appears to bear some affinity to Harsha-Megha (A. R. IX. 175) father of Vikrama of the 5th century, in which indeed, he may not very improbably be placed. We must however, leave these points for the present, as we are not yet prepared for their due discussion. The Mahomedan writers are of no assistance here, as they repeat the name of Vikramāditya without any comment on its again occurring.\*

We have here a Vikramāditya several centuries subsequent to his namesake of the Samvat Era, and on whose character, Kalhana *Pandita* loves to dwell as a patron of poets and as possessed of some of the highest attributes of kings. We have the names of three poets, viz. Mátrigupta, Vetāla-Mentha, and Bhartṛi-Mentha, who adorned his court, or were at least his contemporaries. The word "Mentha" is no doubt equivalent to "Bhatta," and it is to be presumed that Vetāla-Mentha and Bhartṛi-Mentha are identical with Vetāla-Bhatta and Bhartṛi-Bhatta. Mátrigupta also was, in all likelihood, called Mátrigupta Mentha. In some Jaina works, *mentha* is written *mendhṛa*, which in Sanskrit, according to the "Visva-Kośha," means *great*. The word *mendhṛa* is, however, so like the Prākṛita *mendhā* (sheep) that to this similarity is, no doubt, to be attributed the childish, yet popular tale of Kālidāsa having been born a shepherd, till blessed with poetical genius by Kāli, whom he propitiated by

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\* "Asiatic Researches," Vol. XV, p. 88.

penance according to some, and by accident according to other versions of the story.

Vetāla-Bhaṭṭa, we have already noticed, is one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama, and so is Bhartri-Bhaṭṭa or Bhartrihari, the author of the *Nīti*, *Vairāgya* and *Śringāra Satakas*. He is commonly, but erroneously supposed to be a brother of Vikrama; as the fifth couplet\* of the *Vairāgya Sataka* shows, viz., that, the author was an eminent poet, who was dissatisfied with the reception he met with at the courts of several princes, whom he visited in hopes of reward. Bhaṭṭi the author of the "*Bhaṭṭikāvya*," is popularly believed to have been a son of Bhartrihari; and Bhaṭṭi, at the conclusion of his poem, informs us that the work was composed at Valabhī in the age of King Śrīdharasena, an assertion tallying with the supposed existence of Bhartri-Bhaṭṭa at the time of Harsha Vikramāditya.†

The "*Trikāṇḍa Śeṣha*," a Sanskrit Vocabulary by Puruṣottama, gives the following designations of Kālidāsa, viz. Raghukāra, Kālidāsa, Medhārudra and Koṭijit, but these are evidently appellations indicative of his authorship and talent, rather than of his proper name. Who then is Mātrigupta? There is no known Sanskrit work which has a "*Mātrigupta*" for its author, and it is not likely that the poet, who has elicited praises above all others, from the learned author of the "*Rāja-Taranginī*," has left no traces of his works.‡

\* कलुषात् निधियङ्गवा चितितर्ष आता निरे वांतपो निजीर्षं करिता-  
मति कथयतो बलेन हन्वोयिताः । मन्त्राराधनतत्परेष वनवा नीताः  
प्रख्याने निवाः प्राप्नोष्वपराटकोपि न ववा हन्वोयुवा नृक्ष नां ॥

Heberlin's Sanskrit Anthology p. 60. 1847.

† काव्यचिदं विहितं तवा पद्यव्यां कीचरसेन नरेन्द्रपाशितायां । कीचिं  
रगो भवताः कथञ्च तच्च चेवकरः क्षतिभवतः प्रजाजवानाम् ।

‡ We have since met with a commentary on the *Sakuntalā*, by Bāghava

The *Rājataranginī*," does not omit to notice the great Sanskrit poets in their respective historical periods. The date of Bhavabhūti, the learned author of the drama "*Mālati Mādhava*," has been fixed by Professor Wilson at 718 A. D., in the reign of Yaśovarman of Kanoge, on the authority of the "*Rājataranginī*," and later researches confirm the accuracy of the statement. The difference, between the age of the dramatic works of Bhavabhūti and of Kālidāsa, is clearly not of eight centuries. Critical examination of the respective dramas shows that, the interval between them cannot be more than two or three centuries.

We have given all the facts approaching to sober history, which we have as yet been able to meet with, regarding Harsha Vikramāditya, Mātrigupta, and Pravarasena, and now we shall proceed to give reasons for believing that they flourished about the middle of the sixth century of the Christian Era. Professor Wilson, in adjusting the chronology of the *Rājataranginī*," is induced chiefly by Wilford's theory of a Vikrama in the fifth century, whose father was "Harsha Megha," to place Harsha Vikramāditya about 471 A. D.\*

Colonel Cunningham places Toramāṇa in the sixth century. He observes, "the reign of Toramāṇa probably extended from A. D. 520 to 550, contemporary with Takta Gupta of Magadha" (Bhilsa Topes, p. 164). He also states that in an inscription from the Fort of Gwalior, "I find Toramāṇa des-

Bhata, son of Prithvidhara, of Vivesvarpattana (Benares), in which he quotes Mātrigupta Chārya with reference to the characteristics of dramatic composition. Throughout the commentary (the copy is not complete), we meet with 17 *śloka*s, which, from their style appear to be the production of a great poet, and are not unworthy of Kālidāsa. One *śloka* is quoted second hand from Bhāmaha, a commentator on the "*Prākṛita Prakāśa*," who again quotes it from the "*Paṇḍarīva Vadhā Nāṭaka*."

\* "*Prinsep's Indian Antiquities*," by E. Thomas, Esq., Vol. II. p. 244. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 88.

cribed as the son of Mátridása and the grandson of Mátrikula, who is probably the same as Mátri Vishnu." We think it much to be regretted that the inscription is not yet printed. This king's name was read by Mr. Prinsep as *Tárapáni*; but from an examination of the inscription, Colonel Cunningham "can state positively that the name is *Toramána*."\*

It is not unlikely that this *Toramána*, noticed in the Eran Pillar and Boar Inscriptions (J. B. A. Society, Vol. VII. p. 632 and 633) is the same as the brother of *Hiranya*, noticed in the 3rd book of the *Rājataranginī*. *Toramána*'s coins have been noticed by numismatists, whilst the *Rājataranginī* tells us that his venturing to assume the privilege of royalty by coining money in his own name, was the cause of jealousy between the brothers; and which ended in the imprisonment of *Toramána*. We must suppose an intimate connection between the rulers of *Kāśmīra* and the large province included between the *Kālinđī* (Jumna) and the *Narmadá*, a conjecture rendered probable by the fact of the readiness with which the nobles of *Kāśmīra* accepted *Mátrigupta* for their ruler, at the behest of *Harsha Vikramāditya* of *Ujjayinī*. The *Mátridása* and *Mátrikula* of the *Gwalior Inscriptions*, according to Colonel Cunningham and the *Mátri Vishnu* of the Eran Pillar inscription, belong to a Brahman dynasty of *Rājás*, although evidently looking upon *Toramána* and *Buddhagupta* as their superiors. *Mátrigupta* in all likelihood belonged to this family of *Maitráyanīya Brahmanas*. The *Rājataranginī* tells us that he served *Harsha Vikramāditya* in different situations. It is not likely that a mere suppliant brahmana and poet would be placed over a province noted for its religious sects and turbulent nobles, unless he had at the same time, some kingly pretensions to ensure fear and respect. *Mátri Vishnu* is a worshipper of the Boar *Avatára* of *Vishnu*. *Mátrigupta* in *Kāśmīra* is said in the *Rājataranginī* to have

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\* " *Dhilesa Topes*,"

established the worship of Madhuniathana or Vishnu, under the name of "Mátrigupta Svami," and this is the only circumstance that creates a shade of doubt in our mind respecting the identity of Mátrigupta with Kálidása, who, in his extant works always invokes Śiva, and otherwise, appears to have been a devout Śaiva. It is to be presumed that as ruler of Káśmīra, where the Buddhists and Vaiṣṇavas prevailed, he studied to please the prevailing sects by erecting a temple to Vishnu, and by a mandate prohibiting the destruction of living beings.

We have been fortunate in meeting with a few scattered leaves of a poem in Prākṛita, called the "Setu-Kāvya,"\* with a Sanskrit commentary, in which the poem is described to have been composed by Kálidása at the request of Rájá Pravarasena.

In a work on poetry, called Pratápa-rudra," by Vidyánátha, who was patronised by Pratápa-rudra of Telingana about the end of the twelfth century, an A'ryá is quoted from the "Setu-Kāvya," (which is styled a "Mahá-prabandha"). Dandī, who is placed by Professor Wilson at the end of the eleventh century, in the "Kāvya-darśana," praises the poem although written in Prākṛita, as an "ocean of the jewels of beautiful sentences." The work is alluded to in the Sáhitya Darpana.

An expression in the Váránasi Darpana of Sundara is explained by the commentator Rámásrama to be an allusion to Kálidása, "who wrote the Setu-Kāvya."

Pravarasena, the hero of the Setu-Kāvya, is undoubtedly the king of Káśmīra who succeeded Mátrigupta. We have already given from the Rájatarangīnī, an account of the

\* From the incompleteness of the Mā. which was copied about 130 years ago, it is impossible to make out the name of the Commentator. A complete copy was promised to us from Central India, but our efforts to obtain it have as yet proved fruitless.

construction of a Nau-setu or bridge of boats by Pravarasena, the Vetastā, the Hydaspes of the Greeks, on which the capital of Kāśmīra was then situated. The construction of this very bridge is the subject of the Setu-Kāvya (bridge-poem); and Pravarasena is rightly called by the commentator "Abhinava," that is, new, junior, or second, because we learn from the Rājataranginī that, his grand-father Freshhasena,\* was the first to be styled "Pravarasena." In Prinsep's genealogical tables no other Pravarasenas are to be found.

The Sanskrit poet Bāna who was a contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang, as they both visited and were patronized by Harshavardhana or Śilāditya, the powerful king of Kanoge, praises in the following words the beautiful diction of Kālidāsa and the glory of Pravarasena, diffused by the Setu-Kāvya :—

कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रशताकुसुमदोज्ज्वला सागरस्य परंपारं कपिवेगेन वेतना ।  
निर्गतास्तु नपावस्य काशिदासस्य कश्चिद् मोतिर्धरसाग्रांतु पञ्जरीजिव जायते ।

*Trans.* The glory of Pravarasena, bright as the white lotus, extended beyond the ocean by means of the Setu [Kāvya], just as the monkey-army crossed the ocean by the Setu [bridge].

"Who is not enraptured with the sweet and good diction of Kālidāsa, &c?"†

As Bāna notices together Pravarasena and the Setu-Kāvya, we have here confirmation of the correctness of the assertion of our commentator that, the poem was composed at the request of the king. At all events the age of Bāna being clearly ascertained, and the authenticity of the couplets quoted above, being undoubted, we have a limit to the modernness of the great Kālidāsa. The Harsha Charita enables us to fix the age of Bāna in the beginning of the seventh century

\* This distinguished monarch, according to the Rājataranginī, sent a maritime expedition to Ceylon which returned triumphant.

† Harsha Charita of Bāna,

of the Christian Era. This valuable work was first brought to light by Professor Fitz-Edward Hall in 1859. He has given an excellent analysis of it with full notes, in his learned preface to the *Vásavadattá* of Subandhu, forming a part of the "Bibliotheca Indica." Our own copy, (made about sixty years ago,) is apparently similar in almost every respect, to those of the learned Professor.

According to tradition, the poets Bána and Mayúra were contemporaries of Bhoja. Some Jaina records make them contemporaries of a Vridhha or elder Bhoja; others, such as the author of the "Bhoja-prabandha," bring them down to the age of Munja and Bhoja, in the eleventh century of the Christian era.\*

But the Harsha Charita leaves no doubt about the existence of Bána in the beginning of the 7th century. We possess the means of making some approximation to the age of Mánatunga Súri from the Jaina Sthiravalis or lists of hierarchs, and we have patiently compared seven of them composed at different times, but all within the last five hundred years. Mánatunga appears by these lists to have lived in the 3rd century, but the result is no doubt incorrect. He was, in our judgment, a contemporary of Bána in the 7th century.

We shall proceed to show that Pravarasena the second, lived in the 6th century of the Christian Era, and that he honoured Hiouen-Tsang both on his arrival in, and at his departure from India. Unfortunately, the Chinese traveller has

\* *Copper-plate grants*, which notice Bhojadeva of the 11th century, make no allusion to his liberality, learning, nor to his patronage of learned men.

Babu Rájendralál Mitra has published an Inscription from Thanoswar, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society No. VII. of 1853, p. 673, with remarks, wherein the learned Babu thinks the Bhoja of this inscription, lived in Samvat Era 179.—It is to be much regretted that the fac-simile was not printed at the same time. In our opinion, the inscription is not so old.

not given the name of the king, but a brief foot-note regarding the constructor of the Vihāra or monastery, where he put up for a night, on his arrival at the capital of Kāsmīra, taken in connection with a statement by Kāhāna Pandita, in the Rājatarangīni, regarding the construction of this identical Vihāra, enables us to fix upon Pravarasena the second, as the king of Kāsmīra and contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang.

"When he [Hiouen-Thsang] arrived at the capital [of Kāsmīra] he stopped in a convent, called She-ye-in-to-lo-sse (Jayendra Vihāra)."\*

The Rājatarangīni (3rd book verse 355) has :—" Jayendra the maternal uncle of the king [Pravarasena, son of Toramāna and successor of Mātrigupta], raised an edifice known by the name of Vihāra of Sri Jayendra and of the great Buddha."

As shown in verse 105, *idem*, the (maternal) grand-father of Pravarasena II. was Vajrendra, whose daughter Anjanā, was married to Toramāna. Anjanā's brother was named Jayendra, whose daughter would, according to Hindu custom, be the likely spouse of his sister Anjanā's son, Pravarasena. Vijrendra was descended from Ikshvāku. This confirms the Chinese traveller's note, which, short as it is, now enables us to fix some important chronological data in an interesting period of the history of Kāsmīra, i. e. it enables us to recognize Pravarasena II. of Kāsmīra, as a contemporary of Hiouen-Thsang.

\*                     \*                     \*

We read in Hiouen-Thsang's narrative (p. 90) :—"When the master of the law began to cross the frontiers of this country, he arrived at the *gate of stone* which is the western gate of the kingdom. The king ordered the younger brother of his mother to go to meet him with chariots and horses."

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\* This Convent had been built by the father-in law of the King (Note of the Chinese author.)

This younger brother was in all likelihood Jayendra himself, unless he had a younger brother. Hiouen-Thsang notices two other Viháras in the capital, viz. the Vihára called Hu-se-kia-lo (Huskara ?) where he spent a night in the house of happiness "Punya Sála," "to which the King betook himself, at the head of all his officers and monks of the capital, and went to meet Hiouen-Thsang with a suite of more than a thousand persons. The road was covered with umbrellas and standards, and the whole way was inundated with perfumes and flowers. When he was in the presence of Hiouen-Thsang, he overwhelmed him with praises and marks of respect, and scattered, with his own hands, an immense quantity of flowers in his honour. Then he requested him to mount on a great elephant and followed in his rear.

"When he had arrived at the capital, he stopped in a convent called She-ye-in-to-lo-ssé (Jayendra Vihára).

"The next day (the King) asked him to enter his palace to receive homage and to sit at his table. At the same time he commanded several half scores of monks of eminent virtue, to take food in that banquet. When the repast was over, the King invited the master of the law to open conferences on the different points of the doctrine."

This house of happiness first ingeniously rendered by the learned Stanislas Julien "dharmaśālā," and afterwards corrected to "Punyaśālā," is undoubtedly the Amrita bhavana (house of Amrita of Ambrosia), noticed by the Rájataranginī, as a lofty building constructed by Amrita-prabhā, the favourite queen of Megha-vāhana, who was the great-grandmother of Pravarasena II. for the use of the mendicants (bhikshukas) from foreign countries.

Such facts leave no doubt in our mind that the King of Káśmīra was "Pravarasena II." He was living when Hiouen-Thsang set out on his journey back to China. "The king of Káśmīra (Kea-shi-melo) having heard that the master of the law was approaching in light-marches, forgot the fatigues of

a long journey, and came personally to visit him, and to offer him his homage ; he only returned after several days." Pravarasena was then evidently very old, and hence the allusion to the fatigues of a long journey ; thus we may now well believe that he reigned sixty years, as stated by the *Rājatarangīnī*. Hiouen-Thsang thus speaks of Málava (p. 204) :—

"The inhabitants (of Málava) are of a meek and polished character ; they love and esteem the culture of literature. In the five parts of India, Malapo (Málava) to the south-west and Mokeeto, (Magadha) to the north-west, are the only two kingdoms in which the inhabitants distinguished themselves by their love for study, their esteem for virtue, by the facility of their pronunciation, and by their harmony of language."

\* \* \* \*

"According to tradition, the throne was occupied sixty years ago by a king of the name of Kiajee (*Śilāditya*) [*Vikramāditya*?]. He was endowed with great talents, and possessed of great knowledge. He was full of respect for the *three precious ones*. From his accession to the throne till the moment of his death, not a single unbecoming word escaped from his mouth, and anger never reddened his face."

\* \* \* \*

"During the fifty years' reign he never interrupted his meritorious works for a single moment. The whole nation conceived, on account of this, a lively affection for him, which is not yet extinguished."

This account evidently refers to the age of Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya. While Śilāditya of Málava, who must not be confounded with his namesake of Kanoge, 60 years later, is either Harsha-Vikramāditya himself or his son, who according to the *Rājatarangīnī*, was styled "*Śilāditya*" or "*Pratāpāsila*." Vikramāditya is more likely indicated, because the last authority tells us, that Pratāpāsila was restored by Pravarasena to the empire of his father, from which he had been

driven by his enemies, and from whom Pratāpalla brought back "the marvellous throne" belonging to his family.

Varāha is mentioned in the "memorial-verse" as one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama, and we have now very good means of ascertaining the age of this eminent Hindu Astronomer; the latest and the most judicious writers on Hindu astronomy have placed Varāha Mihira about A. D. 570. (Translation of the "Sūrya-Siddhānta," a Text-book of Hindu Astronomy; with notes and an appendix, by the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, &c. p. 260; and Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. VI. No. II. 1859, Art III). It is possible that there was an older Varāha Mihira in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian Era, as stated in Dr. Hunter's list of Hindu Astronomers which was given to him at Ujjayini. We have important data to furnish, regarding the age of the various Indian Astronomers as well as of the ancient Hindu Medical-writers, but on account of the length to which this "Paper" has reached, we shall reserve the discussion of this subject for a future occasion.

The time we have assigned to Harsha-Vikramāditya is that which corresponds with the period, which is given as the initial and principal point of the fixed sphere; it is also the date assigned to Varāha Mihira and to Jishnu the father of Bramhagupta. We have adduced historic evidence to show the contemporaneous existence of Harsha-Vikramāditya, Mātrigupta, Vetālabhatta, Bhartribhatta, Varāha-Mihira and Jishnu. We have the evidence of the Chinese Buddhist-pilgrim as to the zeal with which the Sanskrit language was cultivated in the seventh century at Mālava, and of the affectionate remembrance in which king Śilāditya of Mālava, sixty years before this time, was held by the people of that country. If any time in the history of Ujjayini could lay any pretensions to be styled, the Augustan Age of Sanskrit literature and science, it was clearly the reign of Harsha-Vikramāditya, when Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric and poetry were

cultivated with unexampled success ; when the Hindu astronomical system was elaborated, and the equinox of A. D. 570 chosen as the principal point of the fixed sphere ; and when the "Sûtras" and other writings of the first A'ryabhaṭa were collected into regular "Siddhantas" ; when Varāha-Mihira wrote his celebrated Encyclopædia or "Sanhitā" and other astronomical and astrological treatises ; when, in all likelihood, the medical opinions of Su rûṭa and of Charaka were also elaborated into the shape they now bear ; and when the liberal views and Buddhist faith of his illustrious monarch (Harsha-Vikramāditya) patronized foreign literature, and especially that of the Yavanas or Greeks on which account, it is to be presumed, he was styled "Yavana-Bhoja."

It is worthy of observation that, the neighbouring empire of Persia owned the celebrated Noushîrvân for its ruler, honourably distinguished by the appellation of "the just," and equally celebrated for his learning, liberality, magnanimity, and military exploits. It was Burzuchumîhr, the minister of Noushîrvân, who despatched the physician Barzuya to India for obtaining a copy of the "Panchatantra" or original of the "Hitopadesa," which he got translated into Pehlvi. He also introduced the game of chess from the same source. We have also a great deal to say regarding the "Panchatantra" and its real authors, but for reasons already stated, we shall reserve this also for another opportunity. We shall only here surmise that, the name "Barzuya" is in all likelihood the same as "Vararuchi." Whether this Vararuchi is the same as the one of the "nine gems," we have no means of ascertaining, but when we consider that, he was able to translate the "Panchatantra" rapidly into Pehlvi ; and that he was acquainted with medical and other writings of the Hindus which, at that time, were chiefly in the Prâkrita language, we are led to believe that, the later Vararuchi of Harsha-Vikramāditya's court was this Barzuya. We write this with the knowledge that, the "Kalila va Dimna," the

Arabic translation from the Pehlvi version, informs us that, the "Panchatantra" was obtained at Pátaliputra, and that it takes no notice of Ujjayini. The Buddhist Amarasingha, the lexicographer, flourished more likely in the sixth century after, than in the first century before Christ. Sanku, according to the Rájatarangini, flourished in the reign of Utpalapira, about the end of the ninth century. In placing Sanku among the "nine literary gems," supposing that no other Sanku is meant, the author of the Jyotirvidyábhāṣana is clearly guilty of an anachronism, but we have good reason to believe the contemporaneous existence of Mátrigupta, Vítala-bhaṭṭa, Bhātrībhaṭṭa, Varáha-Mihira, Amarasingha and Vararuchi. The "nine gems" of Vikramáditya's court are those of Harsha-Vikramáditya of the 6th century, and, with every desire to maintain the popular glories of the Samvat Era, we have discovered nothing to place the Augustan Age of Indian literature in the Samvat Era. We are now convinced that, even the popular stories regarding Vikrama belong, as we incidentally noticed, to an homonymous monarch of far more ancient date.

Since this "Paper" was read we have had excellent evidence for placing the Nasik-inscription, noticing the glory of Vikramáditya, in the second century of the Christian Era; and it is clear, that the inscription refers to a much older Vikramáditya than the one after whom the Samvat Era is called.

Bhartribhaṭṭa is related, in the Rájatarangini, to have caused his dramatic production, called Hayagríva-vadha Nátaka, to be represented before Mátrigupta in Káśmíra. The discovery of this drama, which is believed to be extant, though very rare, would throw considerable light on the subject.

In conclusion, we add the following further reasons for believing Mátrigupta to be the same with Kálidása, viz:—

The Goddess Káli or Durgá plays even a more important

part in the legendary history of Káśmíra than in that of Ujjayiní, and some of the stories now current regarding Kálidása, in connection with the goddess Káli, had, in all likelihood, their origin in the former region, justly styled the region of fiction.

If every Vikrama were ready upon the least disappointment or fit of ill-humour, to lay his own head at the feet of the goddess, Káli, who interposed and granted his boon, the kings of Káśmíra were equally ready to offer their heads for no selfish object, but to save the lives of innocent animals offered in sacrifice to Durgá. Pravarasena had a Vetála or protecting genius as well as Harsha-Vikramáditya.

The 181st verse in the 3rd book of the Rájataranginí, which is said to have been recited by Mátrigupta in communicating his sufferings to Vikrama, is put into the mouth of "a learned poet" at the court of a Bhoja, in the Prabandha Chintámāni of Merutungáchārya, a Jaina Writer of the 15th century, who relates the story only a shade differently.

The 255th verse of the 3rd book of the Rájataranginí, (Calcutta Ed. and verse 252 of Troyer's Trans.) therein attributed to Mátrigupta, contains exactly the same ideas, and is repeated nearly in the same words as in the 113th verse of the Megha Dūta of Kálidása (Ed. Wilson.)

There is a tradition that Vikramáditya was so pleased with Kálidása that he bestowed on the poet half of his territories. In keeping with this tradition, the Rájataranginí tells us, that Mátrigupta was appointed by Harsha-Vikramáditya, Governor of Káśmíra, during an interregnum, and that he ruled there for four years, nine months, and one day. Vikramáditya died shortly afterwards, and the rightful heir Pravara-sena, who was away from Káśmíra, having appeared in the field, Mátrigupta wisely resigned his post and secured a generous friend in Pravarasena. The Rájataranginí informs us that the poet became a Yati, retired to Benares and died ten years afterwards.

Mallinātha, in commenting on the 14th verse of the *Meghadūta*, incidentally notices that *Dingnāgachārya* and *Nichula* were contemporaries of *Kālidāsa*, the former his adversary and the latter a fellow-student and bosom friend. As *Dingnāgachārya*'s *Gotama-sūtra-vṛtti* is extant, Professor F. E. Hall, who alludes to the work in his learned notes to the *Uṣavadattā*, may be able to throw some light on the subject.

*Kālidāsa*, although a resident of *Ujjayini*, which he notices in his works with evident predelection, was in all likelihood a native of *Kāśmīra*, or of a conterminous province.

His illustrations are derived chiefly from the Natural History and physical geography of northern India. The "towering summits" of the *Himālaya* decked with "diadems of snow," the peak of *Kailāsa* "reflected in the waters of the dark *Yamunā*," the "rippling *Gangā* laving the mountain pine" "the musky breezes throwing their balmy odours o'er eternal snow;" the "wilds, where eager hunters roam; tracking the lion to his dreary home;" the "peaks, where "sun-shine ever reigns," where "birch-trees wave," the "bleeding pines their odorous gums distil;" and the musk deer spring frequent from their covers; "the magic herbs that pour their streamy light from mossy Caverns, through the darksome night;" the "wild kine" with "her bushy streaming hair;" the fierce elephant; the startled deer; the lotuses that "lave their beauties in the heavenly *Gangā*'s stream;" the mountain lake; "the clefts from which dark bitumen flowed;" the melting snow; the cool gale; the "rude mantles of the birch-trees rind;" these and other allusions indicate extensive observation, and familiarity with the gorgeous scenery of the *Himālaya* mountains, with an ardent love of nature. *Kālidāsa* is the only great Sanskrit poet who, so far as the writer is aware, describes a living saffron-flower. The plant, we know, grows in *Kāśmīra* and the regions west of it. He never compares any thing to the pomegranate or to the rose, which are frequent subjects of

allusion and comparison in almost all modern oriental poetry. The lips of Kálidása's young maidens are of coral-hue, red as the petals of the *Nelumbo* or as the ripe *Vimba*, (*Momordica dioica*), or as the *pátala* flower (*Bignonia suaveolens*) or as the budding leaves. Their teeth are "white as pearls" or as the *Kunda* (jasmine). "Their eyes are "bright like wine" "and beautiful as the lotus,—they write their love-letters on the rind of the birch with mineral dyes, or on leaves with their nails. He speaks of "the sentimental compositions of former poets." His language is simple, and his similitudes are copious and unrivalled for their elegance. The vocabulary of Amara Sinha is sufficient for explaining almost all the words in Kálidása's works,—whilst to understand the poems of Mágha, a contemporary of the Bhoja of the 11th century, the assistance of a number of vocabularies is required. The metres are more varied, and the grammatical constructions long and difficult. Kálidása's metres and grammatical constructions are plain and generally known; yet the effect is great. He is justly praised for his happy choice of subjects, his complete attainment of his poetical intentions; for the beauty of his representations, the tenderness of his feeling, and the richness of his imagination. He shows an acquaintance with Chinese pottery and silks,—with the magnet;—and in one instance, with the true cause of eclipses, the influence of the moon on the tides, and with ships. His kings are attended by Yavana women (Greek or Bactrian) with bows in their hand. He has minute acquaintance with court-life. The various beasts, birds, trees, flowers, fishes, and insects alluded to by Kálidása, are common to nearly the whole of India, and therefore do not assist in discovering the poet's birth-place, or his favourite places of residence. He had undoubtedly travelled a great deal.

Like many congenial spirits he had also no doubt suffered from the pangs of poverty and neglect. He devoutly prays that "for the common welfare of the good, the mutual rivals

Fortune and Eloquence may at last be wedded in that union which now seems so hard to be attained "

What is the argument of the "Megha-dúta" but a faithful picture of his feelings caused by separation from his dear wife and home!—a fact related also of Mátrigupta in the *Rájatarangīnī*. Kálidása, under the disguise of a Yaksha or Demigod, seated on the mountain of "Rámagiri" in Central India, addresses one of the heavy clouds gathering in the south, and proceeding in a northerly course towards the Hímálaya mountains, "the fictitious position of the residence of the Yakshas." He desires the cloud "to waft his sorrows to a beloved and regretted wife." The places are correctly conceived. A straight line from Oujein to the north, the course assigned to the cloud-messenger, passes through the valley of Káśmīra.

In Káśmīra or its neighbourhood, the writer believes, the birth-place of Kálidása ultimately will be found. The name of his wife was in all likelihood Kamalá. The stories of the Bhoja-prabandha are rejected, as relating to some modern rhymester and libertine of Dhárá,—a name never noticed in any of the great Kálidása's genuine works. It is clear, the simple loves of "Urvashi" and "Sakuntalá" could not have found favour at the court of the Bhoja of the 11th century.

Lastly, we would observe, that if the identity of Mátrigupta and Kálidása be established, the exact age of the great Sanskrit Poet, who is now rising into universal celebrity, would be fixed in the middle of the 6th century of the Christian Era; while the fact would be of no less importance to the history of Sanskrit Literature than to the credit of humanity. Inasmuch as the prince of India's Poets would be proved to have been distinguished as much for his fine feeling, and purity of conduct, as for the highest learning and poetical talent.

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## II. ..

## AJUNTA INSCRIPTIONS.

I HAVE very great pleasure in submitting to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society facsimiles, transcripts, and translations of inscriptions from the Caves of Ajunta. As I intend to submit another paper on the caves, their sculptures and beautiful paintings, I shall confine my remarks to the inscriptions and to the historical facts contained in them.

The inscriptions were copied by me during a visit of four days to the caves, which I paid in the company of my distinguished friend Dr. H. Carter, in February last. From morning till sunset, with scarcely any interruption, I was engaged in copying them. The task was by no means easy or pleasant, as some of the inscriptions are at a great height, and look down on giddy precipices. I devoted some hours to taking notes of the caves and the paintings, some of which, as traced and painted by my draftsman, Babul, are now placed on the table.

Notwithstanding great care and diligence I found the time insufficient for thorough revision, and as important facts were expected from the rock inscriptions, which have never before been completely or correctly copied, I sent a young pandita in my employment, who has made considerable progress in the knowledge of the cave characters, to Ajunta with my draftsman in the latter part of May. The doubtful letters in my copies were carefully examined, and fresh copies sent to me, whilst the copyist waited at the caves to receive further remarks and suggestions from me. The copies were again revised on the spot; and after carefully deciphering them I now submit them to the Society.\*

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\* In November 1868 I paid a third visit to the Caves of Ajunta and Ellora with Sir A. Grant, Bart, and Mr. Wordsworth. My first visit was

The inscriptions are twenty-three in number. They are of two kinds, those engraved on rocks, and those painted with a brush under some of the paintings and on the walls.

Of the rock inscriptions three are very long and in Sanskrit, and five are short ones, three in Sanskrit and two in Māgadhī.

Of the long ones one is situated in the Vihāra Cave (No. xvi.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, and its breadth 3 feet 5 inches. It is about 12 feet from the ground. The cave looks south-west, and is the Zodiac or Shield Cave.

Parts of the inscription have been destroyed by exposure to moisture during the rains. One piece, about 9 inches square, at the lower outer corner, has fallen off.

The second is in the Vihāra Cave (No. xvii.) on the right side of the porch. Its length is 4 feet 5 inches and breadth 4 feet. The lowest line is 8 feet 4 inches from the ground. The cave looks south-west.

Portions of the inscription have been destroyed by rain water trickling over it.

The third is in cave No. xxvi. This is a chaitya cave, containing the large image of the dying Buddha. The inscription is situated on the left side of the wall of the ante-chamber over the top of the left door of the cave leading into the left aisle. Its length is 4 feet 2 inches, its breadth 2 feet 2 inches, and it is 7 feet 9 inches from the ground. The cave looks north-west.

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in 1845, in the rains, with the Honorable Sir E. Perry. The inscriptions were again very carefully examined on the spot for three days. The name of Pravarasena was now distinctly visible, and I have been able to confirm my previous readings and to add a few letters, as well as some painted inscriptions, which have been introduced in the copies now published. I have also been under great obligation to Major R. Gill for going round twice with me over all the caves, and minutely examining the paintings, with which his acquaintance extends over eighteen years.

Of the smaller inscriptions the largest one is in cave No. xxv. under the feet of a large image of Buddha, in front of the vault of the Chaitya.

The next is in the same cave on the opposite side, but only a portion is preserved, owing to the rock having broken off.

The third, which is in Mágadhí, is in cave No. xi., under one of the arches in the left side of the Vihára.

The painted inscriptions are seventeen in number.

There is one in the Chaitya Cave (No. viii.), over the head of a painted Buddha over the entrance. One is in No. ix., on the fourth right pillar under the foot of a standing painted Buddha. There are three in cave No. xvi., in the central large hall, on the right wall, one under a row of large Buddhas, and two others under a row of painted Buddhas; the others are in caves Nos. i. and vi.

In the cave No. xvii., in the left wall of the hall, near the corner, are the names of Rájá Sibi under two of his images and close to them the word Indra can be made out under his painted image.

In No. xxi., in the sanctuary, on the left side, under a row of seven Buddhas, are the names of the seven Buddhas, and a long inscription of one line under them.

Mr. J. Prinsep has published the lower part (two lines) of an inscription from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. xvii.), and the first line and portions of the succeeding four of the same inscription as "Another from the same cave (supposed) to be more modern," in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol. v. p. 554.

"Another inscription taken in facsimile from the stone," published in the same plate, is the complete one under the image of Buddha in cave No. xxv.

"The inscription on the entrance of a chamber containing an image of Buddha in the Caves of Ajunta," vol. v. p. 342, has escaped me, but I have added it from Mr. Prinsep's plate. Dr. Bird has given in his work on the Caves of Western India

five lines (incomplete) more than Mr. Prinsep of the inscriptions from the Zodiac Cave, and an exact copy of the five lines from the same cave, evidently from Mr. Prinsep's copy. He has given the two parts of the same inscription as separate inscriptions. He has also published the inscriptions under the image of Buddha in cave No xxv, and the broken one on the opposite side; and the first nine letters of the long and most important of the Ajunta inscriptions from cave No. xvi. Messrs. Ralph and Grisly, to whom Mr. Prinsep was indebted for copies of the inscriptions, do not seem to have copied this. At all events neither Mr Prinsep nor any one after him has taken any notice of it.

I was given to understand by Major R. Gill that he has taken no copies of the larger rock inscriptions. He intends taking photographs of them some day.

Mr. Prinsep was evidently misinformed regarding the incompleteness of the inscriptions, so that he remained satisfied with making out a few letters with a view of ascertaining their age by comparison with other well-known alphabets. Dr. Bird's copies show also that no great effort was made to secure complete copies. The Government of Bombay was liberal enough to employ Lieut. W. F. Brett to copy the cave inscriptions. His copies of the Ajunta inscriptions were sent, I believe, to England; but, judging of their character from two or three duplicates in the possession of our Society, they appear to be carelessly and inaccurately taken. It is, indeed, not possible for any person ignorant of the cave characters to take correct copies of these inscriptions. Many of the letters have been made out from taking advantage of the morning and evening light, and by patient application and study on the spot as well as at home.

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## AJUNTA INSCRIPTION FROM CAVE No. XVI

*Translation.*

1. Having first saluted (Buddha who is renowned) in this world for the removal of the intense fire of misery of the three worlds (about 9 letters lost), I shall relate the genealogy of the king (or kings). .
2. Vindhya-akti (flourished), whose power extended over the great and (brave?)—even by the angry devas (about 10 letters lost), prowess in protection and liberality, the twice-born, illustrious in the world.
3. In prowess comparable to Purandara (Indra) and Upendra (Vishnu), earned by the might of his arm (about 13 letters lost), was the lion of the Vákātaka race.
4. Proud as a lion . . . . . who has eclipsed the sun by the aggregation of (battles?) (about 14 letters lost), has made enemies, and skilful in discussion (about 4 letters lost).
5. Him . . . who conquered enemies, who has performed the duties of men and kings, . . . . . made the greatest effort regarding meritorious deeds . . . . . Vidvakta (about 4 letters lost). His feet, a lotus kissed by the rays of the jewels set in the crowns of kings.
6. Pravarasena . . . (his) son was, as the sun's rays are proper to the expanding fresh lotus . . . (about 14 letters lost) ; whose army was excellent to govern (to punish?)—to him was born a son, who conquered all armies.
7. His son, the chief of kings . . . (5 letters lost) (adorned?) the earth by Dharma ; Kuntala (about 5 letters lost) was the king's son, excellent (pravara), powerful, liberal, and skilful in governing (pravara).
8. (About 4 letters lost) . . . His son . . . (about 14 letters lost) reign of Pravarasena . . . who when eight years old governed the kingdom well.



# AJANTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK

IN CAVE NO XVI, (TRANSCRIPT)

- १ उदीर्णलोकप्रयतापवर्जनिर्वापना त विप्रणम्यपूर्वं प्रवञ्चोच्चतिपातु पूर्वा [ न ]
- २ मशविमा ( नि । ? ) खमिन्नश्च यत्किन्नुदत्तसुरैर ( स्य ) धारणदानयत्तिः हिनः प्रकाशो भुवि विप्रयत्तिः
- ३ पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र समप्रभावः स्वबाहुवीर्याजित कानावभूववाकाटकवञ्चकैः [ री । ? ]
- ४ र ह्यर्धुदतरणालसञ्चक्रितार्क ( स्य । ? ) रातिज्ञताववाद्प्रवणासकार
- ५ जितारिखरराजकायैश्चकार पुण्येषु परप्रयत्नं विद्वत् नरेन्द्रमौलि विन्यस्तमणिक्किरणलौढहन्ताभुञ्जः
- ६ प्रवरसेनः पुद्रोभूदिकसज्जवेन्द्रीवरचमरविमयूख घासनप्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्वसेनसूतोभवत्
- ७ तस्य पुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्र धर्मैषामेदिनौ कुन्तल ( न्व । ? ) सतृपस्य पुद्रोभूतप्रवरोजितोदारघासनपुत्र
- ८ तस्यालज तस्यालज प्रवरसेनस्य राक्षसगुह्यकोयः प्रघाससम्यज्
- ९ तस्यालजोभू ( ह्यु ) विदेवसेनः वस्योपभोगैस्तितैर्विहर्ण बोधस्य भूः पुष्पाशुभावात् क्षितिपस्य
- १० राजा मयगुणाधिवारो यमः प्रकाशो भुवि हस्तिभोजः प्रघ सः पृथुपीनवञ्चः सरोरुहाक्षस्यपि
- ११ दिगन्तहस्तिप्रतिभोजभूतः हितोविनोतः प्रणयप्र मनोनुज्जोलोनुविधानवर्त्तान्निदत्यव
- १२ कञ्चन लोकस्य हितप्रयत्नात् सुखिनसम्यक्परिपालना मातव सखिव नित्यप्रियोभिगम्यन्ध बभूव
- १३ त्वस्त्रस्यः समवेष्ट स तत्र राजाससर्जभोगेषु यद्येष्टवैष्टः अथ तस्य सुतोवभू
- १४ व हर निहारीप्राणाहरिविग्रमप्रतापः सकुन्तलावन्तिकागिकोसलसिक्कृष्टाष्टाग्न
- १५ पिष्यनिर्दीपगुणनिष्टिप्रथितो भुवि हस्ति भोजसूनुः सचिवस्तस्य महोपतेर्वभूवसकलक्षिति
- १६ खिरधोरचेतास्यागच्छमोदार्थगुणैरुपेतः धर्मैषामप्रवणः प्रघासदेयं यमः पुण्यगुणाम्
- १७ यश्च प्रतिपुण्योपचयं परं चकारयत् सार्द्धम् सुनदाधिक चकारकारान् ध्यायुर्वबोवितसञ्जानि
- १८ पितरापुदारान्यबोविप्रहेष्टय रुहताप्रभुजगीन्द्रायुषित महोपरेन्द्रे
- १९ य गरानि कुक्षे गवाक्षानि वोधिवेदिक नृकुप्रमथय तम् मनोहरस्तुविमज्ज
- २० श्रोत तल्लसकीति मनोमिराम महानिधानमानीन्द्रवेष्मादिभिर
- २१ करणास करिणा वितसर्वगुप्तचितसुखोपभोगयोगम्
- २२ रेन्द्रमन्दिराणां क्षिप्रमन्दिरकन्द यद्येक्षित समव्यतिरोचनेगिरोर्वीक्ष
- २३ रत्नम क निदृष्ट वस्य जननमामप्रैतिप्रसादविकचप्रणयोन वल्लभेताः
- २४ लवसुरेन्द्रमौलिप्रभाप बन्धवयात् सवराहदेव हृद्वेवौघान्यनुभूय
- २५ शासुतगतप्रयत्नः सान्द्राब्धुदभुजङ्गभोग शीलकपिलैर्बोवस्त्रैर्भास्वरावच्छा
- २६ वैज्यामन्तमैष्ठय करसद्वय पूर्वभविविधलवनसातुः वैज्यामन्तमैष्ठिर्गिरिख
- २७ द्यजगदपि च समस्तवस्तुदीपप्रहाणान्निधनुपद्मशोकं निर्ध्वरं शान्तमार्थं



9. His son (was ?) (4 letters lost) Deva Sena, in this world, whose beautiful enjoyments (about 3 letters lost) Bopya (about 6 letters lost) earth, for the king's power of merit.
10. Rájá . . . . (about 7 letters lost) . . . . the resort of good qualities . . . . . illustrious in the world (was) Hasti Bhoja . . . . . prava . . . . . he . . . . . whose breast was large and powerful, and (to him ?) whose eyes are like the lotus . . . . kshapi.
11. (About 19 letters lost) . . . . afterwards, he who resembled the elephants (at the eight quarters), benefactor, humble . . . a favourite (of the king ?). . . . imitator of the conduct, indestructible.
12. (19 letters lost) Karchata . . . . (one letter lost), who, possessing a mind inclined to the well-being of the people, for the happy and excellent protection of . . . (4 letters lost). . . ever kind as a mother, and easily accessible as a friend, flourished.
13. (About 21 letters lost) . . . . by a . . . . . (4 letters lost) the king, being at peace, entrusted his affairs (to his minister ?) and, although accustomed to act without restraint, abandoned all enjoyments. Then succeeded his son (about 14 letters lost). . . . . hara . . . . . (4 letters lost) . . . . . vihára ishámú . . . . . whose prowess and glory were like those of Hari ; he Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikúta, Látá, Andhra (conquered ?).
14. (About 19 letters lost) . . . . . by his faultless qualities.
15. (About 9 letters lost). . . . . by his faultless qualities, the son of Hasti Bhoja, celebrated in this world, became the minister of that king—the whole earth.
16. (About 20 letters lost) whose mind was firm, courageous, who was endowed with liberality, mercy, charity,—was devoted to religion and governed the country with justice.

.... (was surrounded with) the rays of glory, mercy, and good qualities.

17. (About 6 letters lost) Saha (about 11 letters lost) made the greatest increase of merit (about 3 letters not made out clearly) (about 6 letters lost)—he—at the time more ..... (works?) made prisons—life, age, wealth, and happiness.
18. (Words altogether of 17 letters not well made out, but evidently meaning) for the benefit of mother and father, established the house (cave?) (about 12 letters lost) . . . ruddhata . . . in the great hill occupied by Bhujagendra.
19. (About 6 letters lost)—pa—(about 10 letters lost) the spot covered with creepers, &c.—windows (three letters lost)—Vithivedika (2 letters lost) drakupiamadyascha . . . the arrangement of pleasing pillars.
20. (About 7 letters lost) cold (12 letters lost) Talasanniti (about 6 letters lost) delightful—(about 7 letters lost) (containing?) the great place of rest, nāgendra palace, &c.
21. (About 5 letters lost) ramaranāsa (about 15 letters lost) rays (about 3 letters lost) where there is an opportunity of enjoying extreme happiness.
22. (About 3 letters lost) the magnificence of kings' palaces ..... the cave of Mandara (about 20 letters lost)—as wished—(about 4 letters lost) . . . on the most beautiful mountain.
23. (About 4 letters lost) by me made? Vidcha (about 16 letters lost)—whose birth-name was, whose humility was expanded by pleasing favours, and whose mind was not crooked.
24. (About 3 letters lost) Laya (absorption) the glory of the crowns of chiefs of gods (about 18 letters lost) . . . . by circumstances was, Varāha Deva, having enjoyed the pleasures of kings.



AJANTAINSCRIPTION ON ROCK.  
IN CAVE NO. XVII., (TRANSCRIPT)

- १ प्रम (स) द्य (चा?) विद्यात्रयपरेशमनिम् विहारदा स (स) त्ववदातकर्मणा गुणाभिधानोपमर्गं करिष्यते  
२ लब्धात्मनोवय (स्या?) नराधिपस्य वृतातपन्नस्य बभूवपुत्रस्त्रितातपन्नो धृतराष्ट्रसंभः  
३ स्यराज्ञो हरिसाख्योऽस्य रुचेन्दुकान्तवक्त्रः नृपतेस्तनयो बभूवतस्याध्यमक्षयीः क्षितिपालगौरिसाख्यः  
४ पृथुकीर्त्तिर्द्युतिमातुपेन्द्रशुभः समभूदभवत्सूतोयतस्य क्षितिपस्काच इतिप्रकाशनामा  
५ भुविकीर्त्तिम्यसनाय बसाप्रक्षितो भुविनिक्षपसनामा नृपतिस्तस्य सुतो नराधिपस्य  
६ प्रथितस्काचइति प्रदीप्तकीर्त्तिः नृपतेरयतस्य कृष्णादासः कुलवंधूतवर्षेनो बभूव  
७ स्तनबाचन्द्रकरावदातवेया भ्रमवत्परिपूर्णचन्द्रवक्त्राविनयाचारविभूषणामचन्द्रा  
८ निक्कलोद्यतकारिमवापतस्य चेतस्याम्बुरुहावता (चा) चौकरकान्तक्षयो  
९ ल्कासम्बप्रतिमौ कुमारौ धराधिपत्येप्रथमो (व) तारदधेहितीयो रविसाख्यसंज्ञाम्  
१० मल्लक (स) तरताम्बामतिभूयभूयसारराजतुचन्द्रदिवाकराविव  
११ हनिव विद्वत्सौहार्दः पुनवोसुसदानुखेनसखं विजङ्गतोः  
१२ रथमिसङ्ग (त्य । ?) घासनः पुराकृतोद्धावितवीमघोमः कनौयसिमेत्यत्र मित्यतामनिः  
१३ धैर्यैद् वाधिराजः अनित्यसंज्ञासचिवस्ततः परंयवौद्वधत्पुष्पमहामहोरहम्  
१४ नृ य पान् भूयः युतत्यागद्व्यापूनोदमैत्रौ क्षमावीर्यधिवरुसिधेवे  
१५ नरेन्द्रान् प्रथस्तत्तात्सुविशुद्धस्तोक्ततेनसम्यभुमितिगुचक्रे  
१६ कार अन्धार्थिकस्यार्थजनस्तथैव कीर्त्तिहतायः प्रथवाम्बभूव  
१७ यताक्षान् समुत्पुचहितविसर्गयत्तया पुत्राधिषेष्टान् करुणाभिसृष्टः  
१८ पनपुत्रवत् अनूचिवांसोपि हितस्यस्तुततां (वि । ?) वद्वद्व्याधयशुहितम्बदम्  
१९ कराणिसद्यः (ः) सर्वं शभावपूणिधानसिद्धिः सत्याभिधानानि भवादप्रेयुः  
२० स्यादचवाधिवोगः ययोऽम्बुमिचन्द्रमरीचिशुभैः जगत्समग्रं समलंकार  
२१ चन्द्रे परिपालयतिक्षितौन्दुचन्द्रेहरि (धेये) हितकारिणिपूजानाम्  
२२ त्वङ्गुतपुष्कराणिः भुवस्तूपविहारभूषा हानोद्योन्द्रिजनप्रमोदम्  
२३ नाकुलानादवह्निः शरवानहङ्गिर (हिरि । ?) व नविसङ्गपाई  
२४ गाक्षीर्यशुयैरुपेतं निवेधितान्तर्गु निराजचैत्यमेकात्मकं मण्डपरव्रजेतत्  
२५ विपुलाविहङ्ग्य अचौकरक्षैत्यमिहानकममत्यात्मभिः कल्पनवाद्यमन्त्रम्  
२६ धेनवताभिरामन् क्षमीविषयत् सादुस्तपुसन्धायीतपूकामात्ममहानिमानम्  
२७ मनोभिरामन् ध्यागद्विषय हिसिपुतीत्यामचौकरद्वन्द्वस्तुतोद्वाराम्  
२८ क्षितावोद्यतवर्ककक्ष्यापुनोन्मनाद्यपूणिधानसिद्धिधनवन्मोटा भुविसर्वकल्पः  
२९ नमपूषधेनमन्त्रयः करोतुतावत् कुललोहं सतां विशन्तिवावद्विचिन्मिस्रमः ॥



25. (About 4 letters lost) the good Sugata, the well-stored cloud, body of snake (about 6 letters lost) disposition—as long as by the bright rays, so long ought inner hall to be used.
26. (About 10 letters lost)—the three jewels (1 letter lost) (3 letters not well made out)—the mountain resorted to by the great, and whose top is occupied by caves of various kinds.
27. (About 10 letters lost) (may) the world also—enter, from the destruction of collective and individual evils, the painless, fearless, peaceful and excellent abode.

#### AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No. XVII.

##### *Translation.*

1. (2 letters lost) Obeisance to the Muni, the great lord of the three Vidyās (Bauddha collections) whose most charitable act is the gift of Vihāras, their qualities and names are described. The king who has obtained life and by (2 letters lost) the umbrella is held, had a son named Dhritarāshtra, who had the white umbrella.

2. (2 letters lost) This king's son, whose countenance was beautiful like the lotus and the moon, was Hari Sám̐ba—his son of spotless wealth was Kshitipāla Sauri Sám̐ba.

3. (4 letters lost) was Upendragupta, very famous and illustrious. Afterwards, his son, well known as Skácha.

4. (6 letters lost) for securing fame in the world (2 letters lost) *basá*—the king's son celebrated in the world, was king Nila-pasa.

5. (About 5 letters lost) Of illustrious fame was the celebrated Skácha. After him, the increaser of the brightness of the king's family and race was Krishnadása.

6. (About 6 letters lost) (the king's) daughter named Ambichandrā, whose dress was white as the rays of the moon, with countenance like the full moon, and whose peculiar ornaments were humility and piety, was (his wife ?)

7. (About 7 letters lost) (the succeeding words not well made out) (one letter lost). In his heart expanded like the lotus (about 5 letters lost) (three syllables) of beautiful form.

8. Comparable to (Pradyumna] a (Cupid) and Sāmha (were) the two sons—the first was destined to rule the earth, the second (had) the name Ravi Sāmha.

9. (About 12 letters lost) Āsmaka\* (one letter lost) sū (one letter lost) appeared beautiful like the sun and moon.

10. (About 11 letters lost) haniva—(about 4 letters lost) particularly cultivated the friendship (one letter lost) pranayo—always conducted themselves with unanimity and happiness (the two brothers).

11. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables) whose punishment was (severe ?) produced from former actions, Vīma Shīma (?) regarding the younger (brother?) (about 3 syllables not well made out) who has praised (Buddha ?)

12. (About 10 letters lost) courage, mercy (2 letters lost) the (chief) king, the minister with the appellation Anitya, afterwards nurtured the great tree of merit.

13. (About 10 letters lost) nnri—(about 2 letters lost) sa (some letters lost) pāna (1 letter lost) attained great learning and exercised charity, mercy, happiness, friendship, forgiveness, bravery, and wisdom.

14. (About 12 letters lost) He well copied the pure conduct of (former) kings, with still purer actions.

\* Very likely Amburāyutākāśa, "whose eyes were elongated like the lotus."

15. (12 letters lost) (Cha) kára (4 letters not well made out) in the same way the brotherhood of mendicants was found increased.

16. (About 11 letters lost) ya (1 letter lost) (tákhána?) Loving (the mendicants?) as his sons, full of compassion, by means of gifts of money left.

17. (About 12 letters lost) makers ..... instantaneously . . . attainment of the love and meditation of Sarvajña (Bud-dha), and realities disappeared from the world ?

18. (About 11 letters lost) mba (7 not well deciphered) by the water of glory, white as the rays of the moon, he beautified the whole world.

19. (About 16 letters lost) moon (2 letters lost) Hari (shēna), a moon among great kings, the benefactor of his subjects ; whilst protecting the earth.

20. (About 11 letters lost)—wonderful accumulation of merit (2 letters lost) from whom the dawn of ornamental gifts of the earth of Stúpas and Viháras—to the delight of the mountaineers.

21. (About 11 letters lost) (3 syllables not well made out) the sounding (about 6 letters lost) (3 syllables) by the great— (4 letters lost) at the (insufferable) foot of the Sahya (mountain).

22. (About 11 letters lost) The stupendous Chaitya of Munirāja (Buddha), this monolithic temple-jewel.

23. (About 10 letters lost) having given plenty, constructed a Chaitya here, difficult even to be imagined by little minds (3 letters not well made out)

24. (About 12 letters lost)—Sē—conveyer of beautiful (a place) sweet, light, clear, cold, and plentiful water,\* a magnificent place of rest.

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\* This evidently alludes to the beautiful waterfall and the collection of water below, at the extremity of the valley in which the caves are situated.

25 (About 14 letters lost) delightful in every way, at the extremity of the hill, towards the west, constructed the great Gandha-kutī (cave)

26 (About 11 letters lost) whose actions are directed towards good ; for the attainment of the meditation of Munīndranātha (Buddha) in this world may all wished-for wealth be

27 (About 14 letters lost) na -humble by him (may) the Maudapa (temple) so long as the sun destroys darkness by its rays lead to the dawn of good of the virtuous

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AJUNTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK IN CAVE No XXV.

*Translation.*

1. (Anxious for and) intent upon the good of the world  
(4 letters lost) a doer of good and happiness, the most excellent—the lord of Munis—who is unaffected by the three states—who is the source of all qualities—whose pure moonlight (halo or glory) is that of intense compassion \*

2. He who was relieved from the round of deaths (transmigration) obtained the state of freedom from decay and of immortality, and being of fearless mind obtained the state of eternal happiness and excellence which still makes of the worlds a city of peace

3 To him who is fruitful, plentiful, and substantial, obeisance and praise are becoming ; to him the offer of a single flower leads to the attainment of the fruit known as heaven and moksha (beatitude).

4. For this reason, in this world, the reasonable being intent on doing good ought to pay intense devotion to the

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I am not sure whether I have rightly understood the whole of this line

AJANTA INSCRIPTION ON ROCK.

IN CAVE No. XXV. (TRANSCRIPT)

- १ जयति लोकाः तार्वरितादकहितसुखार्थकरः परमावधिः त्रिविधनिश्चलसर्वगुणोद्दीप्तोऽस्मि (पति) (भि) कर्णामलचन्द्रिकः
- २ पुनरपि भरणार्थं धनसम्यगिदमजराभरार्थं तावत् सत्त्वाधिवम भयमनाल्लसं गतोऽपि प्रथमपुरं जगतां करोति चार्थं
- ३ ततो नमस्तारगुणा भिधानं भवत्त्वत्त्वं विपुलं मन्त्रार्थं पदसमेकं सुसुमं च यत्र स्वर्गापवर्गाश्च फलस्त्वहेतुः
- ४ अत इति विदुषा तथागतेषु प्रथितगुणाधिकलोकवत्त्वेषु कृतमनुसरताजनेन कार्यैः द्रव्यकर्णाद्दृश्यन्ती
- ५ वर्भाक्ताः देवानिरस्ता विजयास्तविपत्ति कलाच्छापेन शंभुरपि कातरलोचनीभू (त) कृत्वा विधोपि वशमापतितीतकस्तं तन्माज्जवन्ति
- ६ सुगताभयः प्रमुक्ताः स्वविराचलेन मुनिना शासनमुद्भावयं कृतज्ञेन कृतकृतेनापि सताथैलपदं कारितं शास्तुः
- ७ प्रीतिवदोषिषस्यैर्भवसुखकामैश्च भोक्षकामैश्च संविद्यमानविभवैः कथं न कार्यो भवेत्कीर्तिः यावत्कीर्तिस्तौ नैतावत्स्वर्गे
- ८ हुमोदति च दैहोचन्द्रार्ककाशकल्पाकार्योक्तिर्महोदधेः अनेकज्जान्तरवदसौ हृदयस्त्रिरं कृतश्च सुधियं विपश्चितम्
- ९ सुरासुराचार्यभतेषु कोविदं महातुभावास्स करालमस्त्रिणम् ॥ लोकत्रयैकान्तसमन्तभद्रं स्वर्गाधिनामर्थकरं सुवाचं गुणोक्तं प्रथय
- १० नमस्तर्ति खरातिं गतं सखरितैः पृथिव्यां ॥ दण्डसाध्यानि कार्याणि व्यावामैकरसान्पि यस्तु धवति सान्धेव नृपतेर्भक्तपुङ्गवः इत्थं
- ११ भूतोऽस्मि पुत्रोऽपि देवराजोऽधुनं धरः पितर्यु परते धीन पदमुन्नापितं गुणैः ॥ तमं दिशराजसुदिक्षमातापितरमेव च भिक्षुणा बुद्धभद्रेण
- १२ कारितः सुगताल्लयं ॥ आगम्य धर्मदत्तं च भिक्षुः स्ख्यमेव च भद्रदं च मिदं वेक्षताभ्यां निष्पादितं च मे ॥ यद्वपुः सतत्तां
- १३ जगतां च भवत्तदं सर्वमल्लगुणा खरातमहाबोधिप्रज्ञाप्रये ॥ दोषु ह्यशानगतिं समबुध्यतातो भिक्षुर्वयस्य भिन्ने भिन्नोपपन्नः
- १४ बह्व्रतः षोडशविशुद्धचेता लोकस्य मोक्षाय कृताधिकारः ॥ न ससारान्तशुभमपि सुभिच्छिच्छुभकरं विपाकोद्दिव्य
- १५ च यमा लोकाश्चाविप्रसृतम पुण्यमस्तविपाक राणाभवात्सुख
- १६ न जगताम् वीणानन्दो जवाहृतो लाङ्गूलनिनादप्रूरितद्वैप्रागभारवि
- १७ योगोऽश्वाचार्यसितवेशेद जनकभूत्यै प्रतिष्ठापिता पूर्वापि चय (म) नवाद्रिभ्याचार्ये षासौ गतलोकाश्च (र) सादाश्च



Tathāgatas, who are distinguished for praiseworthy attributes, who show great compassion to mankind, and whose heart is full of tender mercy.

5. The gods, being liable to misery, are not glorious ;\* Sambhu, by a curse, had his eyes agitated by fright ; Krishna also, being subject to another, fell a prey to death. Therefore the Sugatas, relieved eminently from fear, are glorious.

6. Even the grateful and good Muni, who was the chief of the elders who propounded the institutes, and who meritoriously discharged the several duties of human life, caused to be constructed a mountain-abode of the Lord.

7. It is becoming in Bodhisatvas, who have great opulence, and who are anxious both for worldly and for final and eternal happiness (moksha), that they should first perform glorious deeds.

8. (It is said that) as long as its fame lasts in this world so long does the spirit enjoy delight in heaven, therefore glorious works, calculated to last as long as the sun and the moon, should be constructed in mountains.

10. } For the spiritual benefit of Bhavvirāja, the minister  
11. } of the very glorious Āmakarāja whose goodhearted-  
12. } ness has existed in various lives ; who is firm, grateful, of good intellect, learned eminently learned, in the doctrines of the Āchāryas and of the Suras and Asuras ;† who knows people thoroughly ; who is the patron of the zealous followers of the very compassionate Sāmantabhadra (Buddha) ; who is of good speech and great by qualities ; who is the image of humility ; who is renowned in the world for good acts :—this great minister of the king, who gets

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\* Literally, " have their triumph intensely set."

† This refers probably to Āśānandī and Bāhī spātya nīti.

works of immense labour, which may be exacted by force, performed by mild measures, whom resembled his son, the clever Devarāja, who, after his father's death did credit to his dignity by his good qualities ; also for the good of his own mother and father did Buddha-bhadra cause this Sugata abode to be constructed (by Devarāja), having first called the good disciples and Bhikṣus, Dharmadatta, and Bhadra-bandhu, who completed my house.

13. May the merits of this be to them and to the worlds for the attainment of the great Bodhi fruit, renowned for all the pure qualities.

14. He who, surrounded by his family in his youth, after learning the Bauddha institutes, became a mendicant, whose vows are many, whose heart is pure from good disposition, and who qualified himself as a guide for the eternal happiness (moksha) of the people\*... .. (about 20 syllables not well made out.)

15. (6 letters lost)—cha.....(one letter lost).....yamé (3 letters lost).....for the sake of the people . . produced (or much) ..... (3 letters lost) ..... greatly merit by him vipāka (3 letters lost) Rāné—happiness arises.

16. Not to the worlds—(6 letters lost) (some words not well made out) .... . top of hill.

17. The house occupied by the Chief of Yogis (Buddha) (4 letters lost) .... . established for the glory of his father.† The former one was.....(established) (by Navadribdhāchārya) for the prolonged happiness of the Saugatas (followers of Sugata or Buddha).

\* This, no doubt, refers to Buddha bhadra.

† As the cave is for the merit of Devarāja's father, I presume his mother was living at the time of the inscription.

# AJANTA INSCRIPTIONS.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Painted inscription in Cave No. IX.

(४) नीलं वा (कवचिचो)

कवची

प्राता

४४

Painted inscription in Cave No. X.

विपक्षीरुम्वक्ष्णः वेतिवद्विचक्षु

Rock inscription in Cave No. X. on the front arch.

वाविठिदुत ४४ कटवादीनो वरुचवदान

Rock inscription in Cave No. XII, under one of the arches.

मानकदेवधन

वनापद्वद्वचपानिज

उपपन्नेरुचवदान

Painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु वदम पुष्पं तन्नपद वाता-  
पिनो रुच्यवत्ताना... हुत्तरवा ... प्रवेसु

Another painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु वदम ... पद ... तापिनो  
रुच्यवत्तानावहुत्तरवातापान्नवे

Third painted inscription in Cave No. XVI.

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु

वदम अतन्नपद वातापिनो रुच्यवत्ताना

वहुत्तरवातापान्नवे

Painted inscription in Cave No. XVII.

विचिराजा इ'इ ... विचिराजा इ'इ

Painted inscriptions in Cave NOS. I, II, and X.

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु (क) क (वा) कवचमयः

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु.....

देवधर्मीयं वाक्य.....

विचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु.....

वर्धयत्तु.....

वापानं ... वदेवत्तु

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु तन्नपद वपं...

तातां हु ... पोषा.....

विष्णु राजा ... नाकारा...

उपावचवतीरुचव...

... देवधर्मीयं ... वत्तु ... वत्तु

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु

वीधवाचवातवतीरु

विपदेविपुधवत्तु

.....तामविदे...वा...वाविचिरं विमनवा-प्रव ..... वत्तु

.....हुत्तरवत्तुवातापान्नवे...तनादेवा ..

Rock inscription in Cave No. XXV, under a large sculptured image of Buddha.

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु वदम पुष्पं तन्नपद वाता-  
पितरुच्यवत्ताना—

वर्धयत्तु अतन्नपद वातापान्नवे

Rock inscription in Cave No. XXV, under a sculptured image of Buddha, opposite side.

देवधर्मीयं.....

वदमइ.....

वर्धयत्तु, ..... ..

Painted inscription in Cave No. XXI, under painted images of Buddha.

विपक्षी विचो विचक्षु.....वत्तुवाति वाक्यः वाक्यवति वत्तु(व)

देवधर्मीयं वाक्यविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु ..... विचक्षुवातापिनो

...वत्तु.....वत्तुवातापान्नवे...वीधवाचवातवतीरु

वत्तुवातिविचोर्भेदमवर्धयत्तु वत्तु वत्तु वत्तु...वाविचिराव.....



*Painted inscription in cave No IX.*

Some letters too disconnected for decipherment.

*Painted inscription in cave No. x.*

"In the Cave (?) of the Chaitya, the most intelligent Vipasyi."

*Rock inscriptions in cave No. II.*

1. On the front rock —

"The charitable assignation of the place by Ghanávha Bania of...?"

2. Under one of the arches—

"The gift of Ghara-mukha (house-door) by Vāsīthiputra."

*Painted inscription in cave No. XVI.*

"The charitable assignation—"

"The charitable assignation of the Śákya mendicant Bhadanta Dharmadatta. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings."

*Another painted inscription in cave No. XVI.*

(The same as above.)

*Third painted inscription in cave No. XVII.*

"The charitable assignation of Bhadanta Buddhaka. May the merit of this be the cause of attainment of supreme knowledge to mother and father and to all beings."

*Painted inscription in cave No. XVII.*

"Sibi Rájá, Indra. Sibi Rájá, Indra."

*Painted inscriptions in caves No. I., II, and x.*

"The charitable gift of Vriddhika?"

"The charitable gift of the Upásaka..."

"The charitable gift of Bhadanta Praudha Dharma."

"Of A'chárya Sadeva."

"Charitable assignation. May the merit of this be to all beings, for the release from misery...of Upāsaka Munīndra...."

"The charitable assignation....."

"The charitable assignation of Śākya mendicant Bha-danta Bhadra."

"Śrī.....?"

"The abode of Śivadeva Vidu."

*Rock inscription in cave No. XXV., under a large sculptured image of Buddha.*

"The charitable assignation of the Śākya mendicant Bha-danta Guṇākara. May the merit of this be to father and mother (and other members of the family ?) and to all beings for supreme knowledge."

*Rock inscription in cave No. XXV., under a sculptured image of Buddha on the opposite side.*

"The charitable assignation....."

"May the merit of this....."

"To all beings....."

*Painted inscriptions in cave No. XXI., under painted images of Buddhas.*

"Viparyī Śikhī Viśvabhū.....Kāṇaka Muni, Kāśyapa, Śākya Muni, Maitre (ya)"

"The charitable assignation of Śākya-Bhikṣu...May the merit of this.....be to father and mother and to all beings... Endowed with beauty and good fortune, good qualities and organs, the bright.....protectors of light.....thus become pleasing to the eye."

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## REMARKS.

The most important of the inscriptions is undoubtedly the one from the Zodiac or Shield Cave (No. xvi). It contained the names of seven or eight kings of the Vākātaka dynasty ;

but only that of Vindhyaśakti, the oldest and most eminent, is preserved intact. By a strange fatality the inscription has been obliterated wherever a royal name existed, so that one is tempted to suppose that the destruction was intentional. But the destructive influence of the rainy weather is sufficient to account for the gaps. The inscription in its present imperfect condition would have almost failed to give us any valuable information: but taken in connection with the contents of the Seoni copper-plate grants, deciphered and published by Mr. Prinsep in the 5th volume of his Journal, and with certain passages in the Purāṇas, I am enabled to point out a dynasty of Yavanas or Greeks in Central India, taking the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, as well as executing the most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism. The Seoni copper grants mention a dynasty of kings of the Vākātaka race or Vākātaka country. I append Mr. Prinsep's translation of this remarkable document. In his remarks Mr. Prinsep observed "neither the country nor the boundary villages mentioned, nor any of the said Rājās's family, can be recognized! The dynasties of Cuttack, the nearest resembling Vākātaka in sound, exhibit no such names as Pravarasena, Rudrasena, Pṛithivīśena, Rudrasena, and, again, Pravarasena, who successively ruled over this unknown province." (p. 729 vol. v.)

The name of Vindhyaśakti is not given in the Seoni copper-plates, as the poet commences his account from Pravarasena; but Vindhyaśakti is stated in the Vishṇu and some of the other Purāṇas to have been the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas. The passages in the Vishṇu, Vāyu, Matsya, and Bhāgavata purāṇas are too corrupt to be annexed.

The Vāyu-purāṇa makes Pravarasena the son of Vindhyaśakti, and describes the performance of the same sacrifices by Pravarasena as are noticed in the Seoni plates. The inscription clearly describes the king Vindhyaśakti as belonging to the Vākātaka race, whilst the Seoni grants mention Pravarasena

as the ornament of that race. We are, therefore, fully justified in assuming that Vindhyaśakti was the father of Pravarasena of the Vākātaka dynasty. With this guide it is not difficult to discover him in the inscription itself. The words Pravara and Pravarasena occur in the inscription shortly after the praises of Vindhyaśakti. Mostly the word is used as an adjective, but in one place, 6th line, Pravarasena the king is no doubt meant. \* The poet plays upon the adjective "pravara" to show his own skill and scholarship, which are not profound. Rudrasena it is not easy to make out ; but there is the word *vas* or *vi* preceding the word *en* in line 9, from which we may well assume that the name is Prithivīsenā. (This at my last visit proved to be Devasena, the son, I presume, of Pravarasena.) In the Seoni plates we have the following genealogy :—

Pravarasena.

Rudrasena.

Prithivīsenā.

Rudrasena.

Pravarasena.

In the inscription I recognize, in addition to Vindhyaśakti, the 1st and 2nd Pravarasena, and his son Devasena, the three intervening names being lost, viz., Rudrasena, Prithivīsenā, and Rudrasena.

Hasti Bhoja and his son do not belong to a royal dynasty. In the 15th line the son, whose name is lost, is said to have become the minister of "that king," by which I presume one of the Vākātaka dynasty was intended. The exact position of Varāha-deva it is impossible to fix, on account of the extensive obliterations. Is he the Varānga-deva of the Vishṇu-purāṇa? There is a Dharāṇi Varāha noticed by

\* Since these remarks were made their correctness has been fully confirmed by the discovery of the word Pravarasenāśya in the eighth line, in my last visit to the caves.

Mr. Prinsep in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. vii., p. 636, but he appears to me to have been one of the early Chálukyas.

The Vákátaka kings seem to have had something to do with Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikúta Látá, and Andhra. And as the verse speaks of Hari Vikramapratápa, very likely the countries were invaded or conquered by one of the kings.

The situation of Vákátaka and its boundaries we have no means of finding. Mr. E. Thomas, in noticing an inscription close to the temple of Rudradeva at Warangal, states that the dominions of Rudradeva of Cuttaek, in the 12th century, extended as far west as Vákátaka. (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, vol. ii., p. 267.) This agrees with the situation of our Vákátaka, in which, according to our inscription, was the city of Kánchanapuri, which was also in all likelihood the capital. A village of Vákátaka is mentioned in the Seoni plates.

What is the meaning of Kailakila or Kolakila? Sir W. Jones's *pandit* thought that there was a country of this name in the south of India, and the name of a fort called Kil-kil-Durgá in a copper-plate grant was supposed to be confirmatory of the *pandit*'s guess.

Whether there was a country so named in Southern India or not, the resemblance of the word to Ghúlghúleh, an ancient city near Bámián, is striking. Mr. Masson, in an interesting paper on the Antiquities of Bámián (Beng. As. Soc., vol. v., p. 708), alludes to the remains of the city and citadel of Ghúlghúleh. The evidences of Ghúlghúleh are, he says, "numerous and extensive, proving that it must have been an important city." If Vindhyaśakti was a Yavana, or only the chief of the Kailakila Yavana, it is not too much to suppose that they came from Ghúlghúleh, and brought with them the art of excavating caves, and also of adorning them with sculptures and paintings.

The magnificence of the palaces of Bactria has been noticed both by Fahian and Hiouen-Thsang.

If Kailakila be supposed to be a Sanskrit adaptation of Ghulghūleh, is it not probable that Vákātaka is an adaptation of Bactria? I am aware that Bactria is best known as Balkh, and its people as Bálhikas, or more correctly, Válhikas. We have, indeed, in some of the Purāṇas, the statement that three Bálhikas succeeded the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti.

Those who have examined the paintings at the caves of Ajunta have arrived at the opinion that they are the handiwork of Bactrian Greeks. Some have supposed the paintings to be the work of Egyptian artists, and others of Italians. I reserve my remarks on the subject for another paper.

Fahian, speaking of the palaces of Asoka, says "the palaces of the king within the town have walls the stones of which were put together by the genii. The sculpture and the carved work which adorn the windows are such as cannot be equalled by the present age; they still exist."\*

Asoka had a Greek governor over Surāsh'ra, and the Rudra Dāmś inscription tells us that this officer ornamented the bridge over the Palāśini.

The beautiful sculptures at Bhilsa are undoubtedly the work of Greek artists; but a short passage from Hiouen Thsang shows, that, long before his time, even the princes of Southern India adorned their palaces in imitation of those of Bactriana. In speaking of the convent of Avaraiśā Samghāśāma of Dhanakatcheka (Dhenuka Kata or Mahā Andhra,)<sup>†</sup> he observes, "An ancient king of this realm had built it to

\* Laidley's translation p. 253.

<sup>†</sup> This, the name of a province which occurs several times in the cave inscriptions, has been erroneously supposed to be the name of a Greek architect of the caves (Xenocrates and Theogonus).—The correct rendering of the Chinese equivalent for the convent is, I venture to suggest, Aparaiśā, and not Avaraiśā.

the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of Tahia (Bactriana)." One would almost think that Hiouen Thsang was describing the Caves of Ajunta in the succeeding remarks: "From thence to the south he made one thousand *li*, and arrived in the kingdom of *Ti-na-kie-tse-kia* (Dhanakatcheka?).\* East of the capital the convent *Fo-po-chi-lo-kia-lan* (Purvasilā Samghārāma) has been built upon a mountain west of the town; on the opposite side of the mountain the convent *O-fa lo shi-lo-kia-lan* (*Avaresilā Samghārāma*) has been constructed. An ancient king of this realm had built it to the honour of Buddha, and had displayed in it all the magnificence of the palaces of *Tū-hia* (of Bactriana). The thick woods by which it was surrounded, and a multitude of bubbling fountains, made it a charming abode. This convent was protected by the spirits of heaven, and the sages and saints loved to walk about it and to inhabit it. During the space of a thousand years which have followed the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, thousands of lay people and of monks were seen, who came together to spend there the time of the retreat during the rainy season. When the latter terminated, all of them obtained the rank of *Arhan*, and departed flying through the sky. One thousand years after (the Nirvāṇa) people of the world and sages went there to live together. But during the last century the spirits of the mountains have changed their feelings, and unceasingly show their violence and their wrath. Travellers are justly afraid, and dare no longer to go to that convent; on this account it is completely deserted in these days, and neither monks nor novices are to be seen there any longer.

"At a small distance, to the south of the town, there is an enormous rock. There *Pō-pi-wei-kia* (*Bhāvavivēka*), the master of the Śāstras, dwelt in the place of the *O-su-lo* (Asuras)

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\* Southern India.

waiting for the *Tse-shi-pu-sa* (*Maitreya bodhisatva*) to become *Buddha* and to dissipate his doubts."\*

Although we have long praises of the kings and ministers who caused the caves to be constructed, not a word is to be found either in the rock or painted inscriptions respecting the architects or limners. The names of the eminent Buddhist monks Buddha-bhadra, Bhadra-bandhu Dharmadatta, Guṇākara, Buddhaka, Navardritdhāchārya, and 'Praudha Dharma, I have not been able to trace in works relating to Buddhism.

In the inscription in cave No. xvii. we have the following dynasty :—

Dhritarāshtra.

Hari Śāmba.

Sauri Śāmba.

Ravi Śāmba.

Upendragupta, Skācha, Nilapasa, Skācha, and Krishnadāsa, appear to belong to another dynasty. The daughter of Krishnadāsa (A'machandrā) was the wife of Sauri Śāmba. These are all new names, but the Rājās appear not to have been very powerful. The name of the founder of the first dynasty is lost. The name of a minister (probably of Ravi Śāmba) is given, and it would appear to be Anitya. There is no clue to the exact site of their kingdoms or capitals.

In the inscription in the Cave No. xxv. we have only the name Āsmaka-rāja, whose minister was Bhavvi-rāja, whose son was Deva-rāja. Āsmaka is the name of a country, and hence its ruler is styled Āsmaka-rāja. In the *Varāha-samhitā*, chap. xi., v. 11, Āsmaka is classed with Drāvida, Videha, Andhra, Dāmāpura, Kankana, Māhishka, Kuntala, Kerala, Dandakā, and Kāntipura, whose Svāmi or lord, says Varāha, is Mangala (Mars). Pāṇini also tells us that the king of Āsmaka, as well as his son, ought to be called Āsmakī.

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\* *Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, par Stanislas Julien, Paris 1853, p. 188.

The inscription offers a good insight into some of the peculiar doctrines of Buddhism, but on this and on the age of the caves and inscriptions I must take another opportunity of writing. I may here mention, however, that the paintings are not older than the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era.

The painted inscriptions require little notice. The names of the seven Buddhas agree with Mr. Prinsep's list. The verse regarding merit to mother and father, and to all living beings, I have met with engraved on the Kuden caves.

The names of Rájá Sibi and Indra over two figures representing him and his queen and Indra are fitly introduced in the illustrations of the Buddhist Pantheon.—The story of the Rájá is interesting, and I append a translation from the Mahá-bhárata.

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#### APPENDICES.

#### SEONI COPPERPLATE GRANTS.

(*From the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. v., p. 729.)

#### *Translation.*

*Of the Seal.*—The irresistible edict (sásanam) of the illustrious prince of hereditary lineage, the ornament of Vákátaka, Rájá Pravara Sena.

*Of the Copperplates.*—Drishtamasi nama.\* The illustrious Mahárájá Pravara Sena of the race of Vishnurudra,† the rishi, performer of the several sacrifices of Agnishtoma, Aptoryamekta, Shorasyatiráttra Vájapè, Vrishpati, Sadyaskra, and the Chaturasvamédha, ruled over the entire (province of) Vákátaka. In his place‡ (succeeded) the superlative lord,

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\* This might possibly be an invocation in the usual form, but no divinity of the name of Drishtamasi, of which the letters are quite distinct, is known.

† [This should be read Vishnu Vriddha.]—B. D.

‡ This is distinctly [His son was]—B. D.

devoted to Bhairavá—happy in being the vehicle of the moon-like\* Sivalinga,—the great king of Vákátaka, Sri Rudra Sena, grandson of Gotami, the daughter of the great king Bhavanága,† who was descended from a race of conquerors entitled to be inaugurated with the unsullied water of Bhagirathí (the Ganges), and who had bathed in the sanctified water of the Dasasvamedha sacrifice—the Bharasiva race. To him succeeded the diligent worshipper of Mahesvara,‡ the just, upright, benevolent, brave, heroic, moral, humble, highminded, strict in religious observances, victorious through faith, of a soul free from blemish, endowed with all these virtues ;—(who was) blessed with a century's store of treasures, of the benefits of civil polity, of warlike armament, of children and grandchildren,—who was as celebrated as Yudhisthira, the great prince of Vákátaka, Sri Prithivi Sena. To whom succeeded the protected of the discus-holding divinity,§—the most opulent Maharájá of Vákátaka, Sri Rudra Sena ;—who was followed by the son of Prabhavati Gupta, the daughter of the conformer to ancestral customs—the upright conqueror of his enemies—the great king of kings Sri Deva Gupta,—the protected of Siva—possessing the firmness of the Rájás of the Satyayuga,—surpassing all of the Vákátaka princes, Maharájá Sri Pravara Sena, whose edict is (as follows) :—

Ernna Káryyaratáge,|| in the 18th year of his reign,¶ on the 12th day of the light half of the month of Phalguna, to Deva Sarmáchárya, chanter of the Sáma Veda, of the Modgala tribe, and the Taitriya sect, is granted with the cere-

\* White. The epithet signifies a devoted worshipper of Siva.

† Or Bhavanátha (?)

‡ Siva.

§ Vishnu.

|| The sense of this passage is obscure—one pandit, by alteration to **सूर्ये विरागे**, would make it express "at a solar eclipse," a common period for dating similar documents.

¶ Pravardddhamán-rájya Samvat (?)

monies of sprinkling Ganges water, Kérata(?), and distribution of 100 pans,—the village of Brahmapura, situated to the north of Vatapura, to the west of Kinauhi-vátak, to the south of Paravaraja-vátak, and to the east of Kollapur ; demarked by these several boundaries, and seated on the banks of Karanja rivulet (?)

Be it known to all our subjects, our functionaries, and agents, to all obedient ryots now and hereafter, soldiery, spies\*—That with the usual intent of such grants for the increase of our virtue, life, power, wealth and prosperity, here and hereafter, as well as for the divine favour, in the holy district recently conquered by us ( the said village is bestowed) free from military-billeting† (?)—where the Rájá's deer and cattle shall not graze‡—not subject to provide flowers and milk.§ Where shall be neither spy, nor royal-chair, nor magazine||.....¶ ? in which the inhabitants shall not be liable to begár or forced labour ; along with its buried treasures and such like ;—and with all its stock and the like ;—as long as the sun and moon shall endure, to be enjoyed by him, his sons and descendants. Let none prevent or oppose, but defend (his possession)—and let him enjoy all increase by cultivation. Whoever shall disobey this order, or make encroachment or abstraction, by himself or through others, shall be liable to fine or punishment before the judicial authorities.

Written by the pandit of the general Bappa Deva in this court of justice (Dharmádthikarane). Whatever pious fame

\* Bharta's chhánrascha.

† Avataochatraprāvéya—all the succeeding epithets laudatory of the jagir are equally far-fetched and obscure.

‡ Apáramparagobalivarddab.

§ Apashpakshirasandoha.

|| Achārājanavarmangara (for āgāra). It was customary with Rájās to keep an A san or throne, a spy and armour, at each village.

¶ Alivanaṭ'hinvakrenidhanatra (?) Sarvaviastiparihara parihrita (?)

has accrued to princes of yore from similar acts should be remembered, and those who come hereafter should uphold them (?). The holy Vyas has the following two verses to this effect :—

“He who bestoweth land on Brahmans shall enjoy 60,000 years' happiness in heaven ; and he who resumeth it shall abide an equal term in hell. If he take away either by himself or by others, his sin is equal to that of the slaughter of a hundred thousand cows.”

*Wilson's Vishnu Purana*, p. 474.

“After these, various races will reign, as seven A'bhiras,\* ten Garddhabas, sixteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Mundas, eleven Maunas, altogether seventy-nine princes, who will be sovereigns of the earth for one thousand three hundred and ninety years ; and then eleven Pauras will be kings for three hundred years. When they are destroyed, the Kailakala Yavanas will be kings ; the chief of whom will be Vindhyaśakti ; his son will be Puranjaya ; his son will be Rámachandra : his son will be Adharma, from whom will be Varānga, Kritanandana, Sudhinandi, Nandiyasas, Siśuka, and Pravira ; these will rule for a hundred and six years. From them will proceed thirteen sons ; then three Báhlks, and Pushpamitra, and Pátumitra, and others, to the number of thirteen, will rule over Mekalá. There will be nine kings in the seven Kosalas, and there will be as many Naishadha princes.

In Magadha a sovereign named Visvasphatika will establish other tribes ; he will extirpate the Kshatriya or martial race, and elevate fishermen, barbarians, and Brahmans, and other castes, to power. The nine Nágas will reign in Padmavati, Kántipuri, and Mathurá ; and the Guptas of Magadha along the Ganges to Prayága. A prince named Devarakshita

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\* I have found the name of this dynasty, and of some of the kings, in the cave inscriptions, and the latter also in coins

will reign, in a city on the sea-shore, over the Kosalas, Odras, Pundras, and Tāmraliptas. The Guhas will possess Kalinga, Máhihaka, and the mountains of Mahendra. The race of Mánidhanu will occupy the countries of the Nishádas, Naimishikas and Kálatoyas. The people called Kanakas will possess the Amazon country, and that called Mùshika. Men of the three tribes, but degraded, and Abhíras and Súdras will occupy Suráshtra, Avanti, Súra, Arbuda, and Marubhúmi ; and Súdras, outcastes, and barbarians, will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Dárvika, the Chandrabhágá, and Kásmira."

*Legend of Sibi or King Usinara, from chapters 130 and 131 of  
Agniparvā of the Mahābhārata*

The gods Agni and Indra entered the court of king Usinara to try the piety of the king. Indra transformed himself into the bird Siyena (the hawk), and Agni into a Capota (pigeon), and then both entered the sacrificial chambers. The pigeon being afraid of the hawk, and being anxious to save its life, took refuge on the king's lap. Upon this the hawk observed : "O king, all the princes look upon you as eminently pious, and I do not understand why you should be induced to commit an act wholly opposed to all kinds of duty. O king, I am starving with hunger, and therefore have every right to take this prey ; do not therefore prevent me from doing it from false motives of your duty. You will not be doing your duty in this." The King replies, O great bird, this bird pigeon being afraid of you, and being desirous of saving itself, and of escaping from your annoyance, has come to me. Do you not see that I should be acting quite contrary to my duty if I were to betray him and give him over to you, since he came here in the full expectation of finding succour. O Siyena, I see that this Capota is frightened and trembling. He has come to me for his life. To refuse him assistance would therefore be meanness on my part, and I

aver that those who kill either a Brahmana or a cow ( who is the mother of the people), or refuse shelter to one who seeks it in humble submission, deserve the same punishment."

*Siyena*.—"O King, food is the cause of the whole creation, and it is its supporter when created. It is that which enables animals to assume life. One may live without anything else which is looked upon as indispensable, but not without food. O King, my life which is now kept away from my prey, will soon leave for a path which is free from all danger. O pious king, my death will cause the ruin of my wife, children, &c. In preserving the Capota you do not preserve the lives of many. The duty which opposes duty is no duty,—it is sin. Duty is that which never conflicts with duty. Pray, therefore, consider the proper path of duty.

*King*.—"O great bird, your speech is very excellent. Are you the eagle, who is the king of birds? You are undoubtedly aware of what duty consists in. Your conversation is therefore certainly full of the knowledge of one's duty. It appears to me that there are very few things which you do not understand. I am therefore astonished how you counsel betrayal of a refugee. O bird, you are doing all this for getting food, but you can get it better in some other way; you can satisfy your hunger either on a bull, or a pig, or a deer, or a buffalo. These are all within your reach,—you can have anything else here that you may desire." *Siyena*.—"O king, I do eat neither pigs nor bulls, nor deer. Nothing else will do for me. O great Kshatriya! God has appointed this Capota for my prey, and I therefore pray you to deliver it to me. The Siyenas have from time immemorial been in the habit of eating Capotas. O king, if you want the support of a stout trunk, do not go for assistance to a delicate plantain stem." *King*.—"I make over to you the territories of Sivi, and am also ready to give you anything except this bird which seeks shelter from me. O great bird, say what you would desire me to do that you may be induced to leave it. I

shall do anything but give up this bird." *Siyena* - "O king *Uśnara* ! if you desire to save the life of this bird, give me so much of your own flesh as would suffice to balance its weight. That will satisfy me." "I am thankful to you," replied the king, "for what you ask, and shall be glad to weigh out to you flesh from my own body during the course of the day." The king thereupon taking out a portion of the flesh of his body began to balance it with the *Capota*, but the bird would always weigh heavier than the flesh, although the king went on making additions from his flesh. When *Uśnara* had exhausted all his flesh, he placed his whole body in the scales to balance the bird. *Siyena* then declared that he was *Indra*, and that the *Capota* was *Agni*, and they came there to the *Rájá's* sacrificial chambers to know *Dharma*. "You are an embodiment of *Dharma* itself. The fact of your having cut off flesh from your body would spread your fame throughout the world. As long as your name is remembered, you will be known as righteous, and enjoying the several states of happiness promised us hereafter." So saying *Siyena* returned to the heavens. The pious king, too, after filling the world with his piety, followed it.

The story is also related briefly in the *Kathá-sarita-ságara* *Lumbak Taranga*, 7.

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### III.

*Transcript, and Translation of the "Sah" or Rudra Dána Inscription on a Rock at Junagur ; also of one of Skandagupta on the northern face of the Rock ; with some brief Remarks on the Sah, Gupta, and Valabhi Dynasties.*

THE "Sah" inscription, the revised facsimile and translation of which have this day been submitted to the Society, was deciphered and published by Prinsep in the seventh volume of the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, p. 334. Mr. E. Thomas has republished the same in his admirable edition of

Prinsep, and has added to revised translation of the record by Professor H. H. Wilson, based on an independent transcript of the original which Mr. Thomas had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1842.

Professor Wilson's translation is anything but an improvement. Having secured the services of a young Brahman who possessed a moderate knowledge of Sanskrit and of the cave-character, I induced him to study the character well, and employed him last year to take copies, leisurely and carefully of the three large inscriptions on the Junágad rock, the third being the celebrated edicts of Aśoka. The copies were brought to Bombay and carefully gone over, but, not being quite satisfied, the young Pāṇḍit was again sent to Junágad, where he and another person copied the inscriptions, but independent of each other, and afterwards took facsimiles on paper and on cloth. The copies made by the hand in small letters were sent to me in Bombay, whilst the copyists remained at Junágad to receive suggestions, &c., from me. All possible variations having thus been carefully considered with my learned Pāṇḍit Pāṇḍurang-gopāla Pādhyé, the mature result is now presented to the Society. I found the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob very useful as guides, but insufficient for the purpose of decipherment.

The translation of the so-called Sah inscription differs in many important particulars from that of Mr. Prinsep. The name of the lake Sudarṣana occurs at the very commencement, but is not recognized by him. Mr. Prinsep's Aridāma is only a mislection of Rudra Dāma from the imperfect facsimile.

An historical fact of great importance in my translation is, that Rudra Dāma appears to have been a grandson of Svāmi Chashtan, and not his son. The inscription contained the father's name, but that part of it is, unfortunately, com-

pletely lost. The names of the countries, as I read them, over which Rudra Dāma ruled, are also somewhat different. The names A'kara and Avanti occur in Padumāvi's inscription in one of the Nāsika caves ; the others need not detain us here.

The name of the actual builder of the bridge is not the Pahlava Māvya or contractor, as rendered by Mr. Prinsep, but the Pahlava minister of Rudra Dāma, named Suvisākha, a Sanskrit adaptation, I think, of the Persian name Siāvaksha. His father's name, as I make it out, is Kulaipa, and Siāvaksha appears to have been the governor of A'narta and Surāshtra.

This inscription offers materials for many observations, but I must, reluctantly, postpone making any to another opportunity.

In the second inscription we have the names of Skandagupta and of Parnadatta and his son Chakrapālita.

Skandagupta is undoubtedly the monarch whose name has been discovered in coins, on the Bhitāri Lāt, and on the Kuhaon pillar. To-day I have fulfilled the promise I made in my paper on Kālidāsa (Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., vi., p. 207,) of furnishing a translation of the remaining Junágad inscription. Mr. Thomas has remarked that "up to this time no more satisfactory account of its purpose and contents can be given than is to be found in the brief notice published by Prinsep in April 1838 (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities by Thomas, vol. i., p. 247)." All that Mr. Prinsep found was "an allusion to Skandagupta, one of the Gupta family," &c. It appears that Parnadatta was appointed governor of Surāshtra by Skandagupta, and the son of Parnadatta named Chakrapālita with two sons were in office in the same province. The Sudarsana lake appears to have given way in the 130th year of the Gupta Kāla, or Gupta era ; it was repaired seven years after, in the 137th year of the Gupta Kāla by Chakrapālita, who also erected a temple to Vishnu on the top of the Jayanta

hill, or the hill of Girnar, in the 138th year of the same era.\*

In my essay on Kālidāsa I remarked in a foot-note that the Kuhaon pillar inscription is dated "in the 141st year of the Gupta dynasty, in the reign of Skandagupta, and not after his decease, as deciphered by Prinsep." The present inscription leaves no doubt of the correctness of my interpretation, and will enable us to fix the chronology of the Gupta and Valabhī monarchs with some certainty.

The position of Skandagupta in relation to the Gupta era being now placed beyond doubt, the other dates of Chandragupta, Samudragupta, and Budhagupta, as made out from inscriptions, must now be granted to commence from the Gupta era.

The dates obtained are, Chandragupta Vikramāditya 82 (Udayagiri inscription) and 93 (Sanchi inscription), Skandagupta 141 in the Kuhaon pillar inscription, and Budhagupta 161 in the Eran pillar inscription. Colonel Cunningham is mistaken in supposing that the Kuhaon pillar inscription has the date 133, and that it refers to Skandagupta's death (Bhilsa Topes, p. 114).

At the next meeting I shall produce proofs to show that the Valabhī plates are dated in the Śaka Nripa Kāla, and that the symbol which has been hitherto read 300 represents the fourth century of the Christian era, and is different from those on the coins.

As the Valabhī era is found in Colonel Tod's Somnath inscription to have commenced in A.D. 381, Skandagupta must be placed in A.D. 448-459, with a margin of five or ten years on each side.

The Valabhī plates bear dates, in my opinion, from 310 to 365 Śaka Kāla, i. e. from A. D. 388 to A.D. 443. The Valabhī dynasty, of which Bhatārka Senāpati was the founder, dates

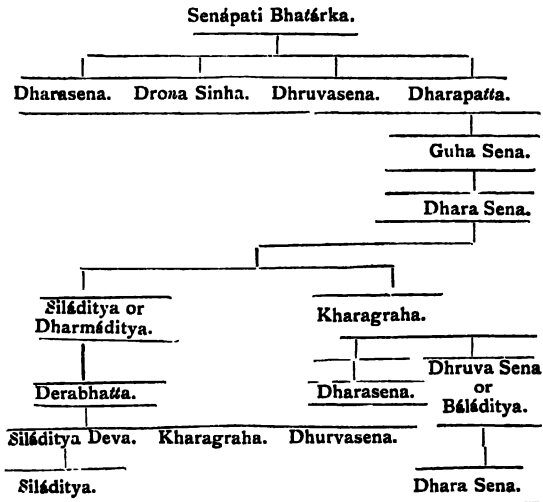
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\* In the present inscription the hill is called *Urjayata*. Hemachārya, in his *Nāma-Māhā*, calls it *Ujjayanta* and *Raivata*.

its rise, therefore, shortly before Skandagupta, a fact borne out by a comparison of the alphabetical characters of the monumental records of the Gupta dynasty and of the copper-plate grants of Valabhí. I may here remark, that Dr. Mill's interpretation of the Bhitári Lát is most defective; and the genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty has not yet been correctly given.

I should be thankful to any lover of antiquities for procuring for me a fresh facsimile of the Bhitári Lát inscription. I may now warn writers on Indian antiquities against implicitly receiving as correct the names given by Dr. Mill of the female connections of the Guptas, nemely, Lichchavi and Kumáradevi, or of Mahádaitya and Mahendragupta, which in my humble judgment are not to be found in the inscription.

The correct genealogy of the Valabhi dynasty is, I think, as under :—



Colonel Cunningham is right in placing the Gupta era in A.D. 318, but in admitting the Guptas noticed by Hiouen-Thsang amongst the successors of Skandagupta he committed a grave error, which has been correctly and fully exposed by Mr. Thomas, who is, however, I think, himself wrong again in placing the Séhs of the coins as early as the second and first century before Christ ; and to a brief consideration of this point I shall now proceed.

On comparing the alphabetical characters of the inscriptions in the reign of Padumávi, the A'ndhra king, at Násika, Karlen, and Kánheri, with those of the Rudra Dáma or Séh inscription, no doubt the Padumávi inscriptions will appear to be the older of the two.

This Padumávi or Puloman was pronounced long ago by Wilford to be identical with Siri Pulomai of Baithan, or Paithan, on the Godavery, mentioned by Ptolemy Claudius. Professor Lassen has also pointed out the identity. I have found a new inscription of Padumávi on a tank on the Náná Ghát ; there is no reason to doubt that Padumávi, the A'ndhra king, was a contemporary of Ptolemy, and that he flourished about A. D. 120. Ptolemy in noticing Ozene or Ujjayini mentions it as the royal residence of another king, whom he calls Tiastanus. This Tiastanus is, in my opinion, no other than Svámi Chashána of the Rudra Dáma inscription. If we grant that Chashána was a contemporary of Padumávi and Ptolemy, we can well allow that Chashána's grandson Rudra Dáma twice conquered Satakarni, lord of Dakshinápatha, who was in all likelihood Gautamiputra, the son of Padumávi.

Within fifty years of Padumávi's death the A'ndhra dynasty ends, a misfortune no doubt brought about by the rising power and personal qualities of Rudra Dáma. I have already stated that a comparison of the alphabetical character of the inscription shows that Rudra Dáma flourished shortly after Padumávi ; I have also assumed that we must place the rise

of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 318; and as there are cogent reasons for believing that the Guptas succeeded the "Śāhs," the date of about A. D. 200 for Rudra Dāma appears not incompatible. I may here remark that the most distinguished monarch of the Sātakarai or A'ndhra dynasty was Gautamiputra, the son of Padumāvi. He appears to have extended his conquests over Aśvaka(?), Asmaka, Mudaka, Surāshtra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa Vidarbha, and Akarāvati (or A'kara and Avanti?), and all those provinces over which a Kshatrapa or satrap of the Parthian dynasty (Phraates?) ruled immediately before. This I make out from the inscriptions. Gautamiputra boasts of having established the glory of the Śatavāhana family, of having defeated Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, and of exterminating the descendants of Khagarāta (Pāli), Kshaharāta (Sanskrit), (Phraates?)

The countries which are recorded at Nāsika as having been conquered by Gautamiputra are the very ones over which Rudra Dāma appears from the Junágad inscription to have established his sway, with, in addition, Sauvira, Nishada, and Aūarta.

The Parthian king Nahapāna, the exploits of whose son-in-law Ushavadāta are recorded at Nāsika, clearly flourished before Chashāna and Padumāvi. The success with which Ushavadāta conducted his expedition to Malaya or Malabar from the north through the Deccan, shows that the princes of Paithan and of Mahā-Andhra could not have been very powerful. I was strongly inclined to look upon Gautamiputra as the founder of the Śālivāhana era, but the claims of Nahapāna appear to be much more probable.

I cannot help pointing out the great similarity of the titles Zathou korano and Zathou vahano to Satakarni and Śatavāhana respectively. I am inclined to look upon Kadphises as Sipraka or Sikrapa, the founder of the so-called A'ndhra dynasty, Krishna his brother as Kanerki, and Su-hermæus, the predecessor of Kadphises, as Susarman the Kānwa. If

further analogies be required, I may point out the similarity of Athro to A'ndhra, and of Ado to A'dha, also of Athro Pharo to A'ndhrabhrit, the former class of words occurring on the coins of Kadphises and Kanerki, the latter in the Purāṇas and inscriptions. The titles Rao Nana Rao on the coins of Kanerki are more common in the Deccan, the former seat of the A'ndhras, than in any other part of India. I am also strongly inclined to look upon the name of Náná Ghát as coming from Nanaia. It contained in a cave or recess, at its top, images of the founder of the Sataváhana dynasty, also of the chief of the Maráthas, of Kumára Sataváhana and Kumáro Hakusiri, and of another Kumára whose name is lost but begins with Bhá. The word Kumáro also occurs in some of the Indo-Scythic coins. The above remarks regarding the founders of the A'ndhra dynasty I offer rather as speculations, with the object of directing attention and inviting discussion, than as the mature results of deep research.

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#### "SA'H" OR RUDRA DA'MA INSCRIPTION, JUNAGUR.

##### *Translation.*

To the Perfect One. This Sudaršana lake, being from Garanagara (Girinagara) .....to the foot.....(about 13 syllables lost) .....constructed in its length, breadth, and height, of unbroken masonry, and strong in all places, so as to rival the hill-region itself.....(4 syllables not well made out) (4 syllables lost) ... ..(2 syllables).....(about 16 syllables lost)..... having been.....constructed .....with the causeway and with the nicely reconstructed cornices and parapets.....(9 syllables not well made out).....(about 25 syllables lost).... and other means... . is in an excellent condition.

This work gave way in the 72nd year, Márgasírsha, month, and dark half of the moon, of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dáman, whose name is oft repeated by the great, the

grandson of Mahákshatrpa Chash/ana of well-accepted (propitious) name.....(about 25 syllables lost).....the son of ..... 'name lost, with some adjectives).....on account of the rain having poured down heavy showers everywhere, converting the surface of the earth into an ocean, and by the powerful current of the gold-sand\* river Palásini and other rivers of the Urjayata hill, the embankment.....was carried away .....(about 18 syllables lost).....(3 syllables not well made out) .....whilst employing proper devices.....the waters, agitated by a hurricane, destroying the hill-top trees, walls, towers, collection of houses with stories and doors, and whose terrible force was fierce as the deluge, washed down, fallen and dismantled .....(16 syllables lost), stones, shrubs, networks of creepers.....(gave way) down to the bottom of the river.

Through a broken passage of 420 cubits' length, and of the same breadth, and 75 cubits deep, the whole of the water escaped, and converted (the lake) as it were into the (arid) country of Marwar.

Afterwards ? by.....(6 syllables not well made out).....(22 syllables lost).....for it(or this lake).....the Maurya Rájá Chandragupta.....(4 syllables lost).....his (governor ?).....Syena Pushpagupta of Suráshtra† caused to be made.....and by the celebrated Yavana Rájá of Asoka Maurya named Tushaspa having been repaired, he ornamented it with cornice and parapet. By him (Tushaspa) the work was made worthy of the king. Seeing the cornice in the hiatus.....the extensive bridge.....(12 syllables lost).....uninterrupted royal prosperity from his childbirth.....(3 syllables lost, 4 syllables not well made out).....who was wooed by all classes approaching for protection as their king, who except in war had taken the

\* This adjective is applicable to the other rivers by a different grammatical construction.

† "Ráshtriya" only is visible, "su" it is believed is lost. In dramatic phraseology "Ráshtriya" may mean brother-in-law.

true vow never in his life to kill a human being\*... the killing of an equal and opposing enemy and liberality... (9 syllables not decipherable.....about 13 syllables lost).....who has shown mercy to those people who were themselves at his feet . ....protected by him.... city never afflicted by thieves, serpents, wild animals, and diseases the lord of the countries of eastern and western A karāvati (or A'kara and Avanti), Anupadeśa, A'nartta, Surāshtra, Asva Kutcha ( or Bharukachā?), Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Nishada,† &c., conquered by his own might, and the people of which are well affected ; who rooted out the Yaudehyas,‡ who became slaves to jealousy at the renown of his title of hero ; who, without treachery, after twice thoroughly conquering Sétakarna, lord of Dakshināpatha, did not completely destroy him, on account of their near connection, and thus obtained glory .....(one syllable).... (about 8 syllables lost) of great exploits, by the re-establishment of deposed kings, by properly raising his hand (i. e., by gifts,) has repeatedly earned the love of Dharma ; who has secured great renown by his complete study of the theory and practice of the great sciences of grammar, polity, singing, philosophy, &c.; who was skilled in the sciences of (managing) the horse, the elephant, the chariot, the sword, the shield, close fight, &c. (about 9 syllables lost) ; whose attacks on his enemies' army are impetuous and effective ; who is always of a charitable, courteous, and obliging disposition ; who is munificent ; whose treasury overflows with abundance of gold, silver, diamonds, lapis-lazuli (Vardurya), and jewels, acquired by just and proper taxes and duties and tribute ; whose speech is graced by clear, simple, sweet, admirable, and beautiful sentences in prose and poetry (13 syllables lost) ; whose beautiful form

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\* Or any living being.

† In the original it is called Nishada.

‡ The Yaudheyas are an old warlike tribe noticed by Pāṇini, and in all likelihood were the ancestors of the Jadeja Rājputs.

has the best marks and qualifications in gait, height, voice, walk, colour, vigour, strength, &c.; who himself acquired the title of Mahákshatrapa (protector of warriors), who won numerous garlands of flowers in the Svayamvara ceremony of the daughters of kings; by this Mahákshatrapa Rudra Dáman (some syllables not well made out) (for) cows and Brahmans.....(15 syllables lost).....and for the increase of his merit and fame, by gentle means, exacted taxes and forced labour from the people of the city and country, and by a liberal amount of money from his own treasury, in no great length of time, constructed the bridge of three times the length and breadth.....(6 syllables lost) (3 syllables) (10 syllables lost)..... caused the most delightful lake (Sudarśanataram) to be made.

On account of the largeness of the gap, the undertaking was forbidden by the king's advisers and executive officers, although possessed of all the qualifications of ministers, and not disinclined to encourage enterprize. The people, losing all hopes of the construction of the bridge, raised woeful cries, when the work was executed by the Palhava minister Suvisákha, the son of Kulaipa, appointed by the king to look after the welfare of the people of towns and districts, and for the protection of the whole of A'narta and Suráshtra.....who (Suvisákha) by the proper dispensation of justice in temporal and spiritual matters secured the love of the people; who was powerful, patient, active, free from pride, great, unconquerable, the establisher of religious fame, and the increaser of the glories of his master.

## SKANDAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTHERN FACE OF THE JUNAGUR ROCK.

### *Translation.*

To the Perfect One. Vishnu, who snatched from Bali for the happiness of Indra that wealth (Śri) which is worthy of

enjoyment by his beloved (devotees), and which was carried off for a long time, who conquered misery, and who is the constant asylum (or light) of that Laxmī whose residence is the lotus, and who is ever victorious, may he be glorious !

Afterwards he . . . and who by his own arms obtained glory (parākrama), and who is the most distinguished king of kings, the destroyer of the poison by means of Garuda (king of birds)... .contempt, of the pride of kings (kingly serpents) buoyed up (with holding up the hoods of) chivalry and pride . . . The asylum of kingly qualities, of great wealth, who, on his father attaining the friendship of Devas (i. e., on his father's death), humbled his enemies by his might, and possessed himself of the earth, which contains the (gems) of the four oceans, and which is skirted by rich countries ; May he, Skandagupta, be glorious. by whose ever-increasing success his enemies in Mlechcha countries, whose pride has been destroyed from the root, were, as it were, conquered, and were ashamed to show their faces.

4. Laxmī, having with a firm mind well considered the causes of good and bad qualities, rejected, one after another, sons of kings, and at last married him herself.

5. Whilst this king was governing the earth no one amongst his subjects departed from the path of duty (dharma), or suffered, or was poor, vicious, miserly, guilty of punishment, or suffering from extreme misery.

6. Having conquered all the world and humbled the pride of his enemies, and having established (rakshakas) protecting officers in all the countries, he began to think intently.

7. What person is there who is at once respectable and far-seeing, humble, and with faith, full of wisdom and memory ; who is endowed with truth, straightforwardness, liberality, moral worth, sweetness, talent, and glory ; who is devoted and attached, manly, and with intellect clear on all religious doctrines ; who is full of gratitude, and devoted to the good of mankind ; and who by righteous means is able to earn wealth,

to preserve and increase it, and to spend it on proper objects?

Who is there qualified best to govern all the districts of Suráshtra amongst all my servants? Yes, I know surely, only Parnadatta is competent to bear the burden.

In this way this king of kings, meditated for successive days and nights, and with firm resolve and earnest entreaty appointed (him) for the good government of the country of Suráshtra.

The Devas obtained rest after appointing Varuṇa to the west, so the king by appointing Parnadatta to the west felt secure.

His (Parnadatta's) son, full of filial duty, was, as it were, the victorious Parnadatta, divided into a second selfsame spirit, who was brought up as his own (dear) self, whose mind\* was serene, whose form was beautiful as that of Cupid,..... in keeping with the form, beautiful and variegated\*.....whose acts were ever truthful. ... and whose face resembled a lotus in the hand of awakened Laxmī ; who was generous to those who submitted to him, and he who was distinguished by the name of Chakrapálita flourished in this world ; popular, who made his father greater by his (good) qualities ; in whom ever dwelt power tempered by mercy, humility, morality, bravery that boasts not, charity, cheerfulness, talent, freedom from debt, restless energy, beauty, contempt of the mean, freedom from pride, courage and generosity.

These various qualities in an eminent degree resided in him without interruption. There is no one in this world to be compared to him in (good) qualities.

He being endowed with all (good) qualities became worthy of example to mankind.

The father (Parnadatta), having recognized these and other greater qualities, himself appointed him (Chakrapálita). He then protected the city better than his predecessors.

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\* The poet plays upon the word *atma*, which is repeatedly introduced.

He availed himself of the bravery of his two arms, did not depend on others, nor did he cause distress to any from pride but punished the wicked in the town.

The people placed implicit confidence, and studying the character of the people he pleases them as if they were his children, with cheerfulness, sweet conversation, civility, liberality, by the familiarity of social intercourse .....by devotion to Brhmanism, powerful, pure, charitable according to the rules (paths), he enjoyed such pleasures as he could without transgressing wisdom, religion, and prosperity.

\* \* \* \* ; what wonder that he (who was descended) from Parnadatta should be virtuous ? Is warmth ever caused from the moon, which is cool as a collection of pearls and aquatic lotuses ?

Afterwards, when in the course of nature the rainy season arrived after the hot season, it rained copiously and continuously for a long time, by which (the lake) Sudarsana burst (its embankments ?)—When a century of years *plus* thirty passed, in the sixth day of Bhádrapada, at night, counting from the era, of Gupta (Guptasya Kála)... and the rivers of the sea (wives), arising from the Raivata (mountain), and pent up for a long time, and also the Paláviní, shining with its (golden) sands, again as usual proceeded (rolled) towards their lord (the sea), the friendly Urjayata, observing the flow of love on the part of the ocean, and spread, as it were, his river-hands ?

All the people, frightened and crying to one another what to do and how to do, were all night or morning and evening) thrown into still greater consternation.

The Sudarsana (good-looking) lake in this world instantly became ill-looking (was destroyed). Would the Sudarsana, whose appearance was like that of the sea, be ever filled with water ?.....(letters lost).....he being greatly devoted to his father ...having put forward Dharma (which is always) of beneficial sequence to its observers.....for the benefit of the

king and of the city, in a century of Samvatsaras ( years )  
*plus* thirty *plus* seven ( having passed ).....Chaitra ( month  
 Chaitra).....and whose might is known.....Having pleased  
 the gods by ghee and obeisances, and the twice-born by  
 gold, and similarly the people of the city by entertaining them  
 with proper civility, and also servants and respectable friends  
 by gifts.....On the first day of the first demilunation of the  
 (first) month of the Grīshma season (latter half of summer),  
 in two months, in the best manner, he with great courtesy,  
 and by expending immense wealth, constructed with great  
 effort.....whose total length is 100 cubits, and breadth 68  
 cubits, height (7 ?) persons (men's height).....

(200 cubits ?)... ..with well-set stones.....the Sudarśana  
 lake (destined?) to last till the deluge, and also.....and whose  
 bund (setu) is ornamented.....and in which the chakravāka  
 (heron) and the geese.....beautiful water.....as long as the  
 sun and moon.....May the city be prosperous and populous !

May its sins be removed by hundreds of Brahmanṣ sing-  
 ing the Vedas.....century of years, also (may they be saved  
 from) all kinds of evils, and from famine.....the arrangement  
 of the description of the construction of the Sudarśana lake  
 is finished.

The destroyer of the pride of haughty enemies of great  
 fortune, a banner of his race, the lord of the whole earth.....  
 (10 syllables lost).....(4 syllables not well made out).....(14  
 syllables lost).....the protector of the Dvīpa.....the lord of the  
 great.....(4 syllables not well made out).....for the suppres-  
 sion of enemies.....his son endowed with his own qualities,  
 who (son) has offered his soul to the feet of Govinda (Vishṇu),  
 by him.....(about 14 syllables lost).....and having been to the  
 lotus-feet of Vishṇu.....whom the people of the city have sub-  
 mitted on account of his exploits, by him, with a great ex-  
 penditure of money and time, who by his prowess has had in  
 submission the people of the city...the holder of the discus.....  
 enemy...who is independent, and who for the sake of Brahma-

deva became a man (?) to this discus-holding Vishnu, a temple was constructed by Chakrapálita.....and.....From the (Kála) era of the Guptas.....a century of years *plus* 38 (having passed).....(about 12 syllables lost)...(7 doubtful syllables).....on the top of the Jayanta mountain, appears as if ruling.....and secondly on the top.....

*Rudra Déma's Inscription at Jundágur, in Suráshttra.*

(Devanāgarī Transcript.)

१ सिद्धम् इदं तडाकं सुदयनं गननगरादापादरप ..... कोपसवि-  
सारावाभोऽवनिः सन्निवचदृश्यं पदोऽपूनीत्यर्थत

२ पदप्रतिष्ठापितं सुज्ञीपदा ..... तर् .....  
जातानां जन्मिनेषु सेतुबन्धनोपपन्नप्रतिनिहितप्रनाडोपरिष्ठाप

३ भिन्निवर्धयन्निष्ठा .....  
नादिभिरुपपन्नैर्नृत्तपद्ये वसेते तदिदं राज्ञो महाबलपक्ष सुष्ठु

४ तनाम्नः क्षान्तिवचनस्य पीत् ..... पुनस्त राज्ञो महाबलपक्ष  
सुचभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो वरदाभोवर्षेऽसप्ततितमे

५ नार्गधीर्नृत्तप ..... परितदृष्टिना पञ्चम्ये न  
एकाव्यंनृत्तावागिव दृष्टिनां ज्ञातावां निरेवर्धतः सुचभिरुत्तिता

६ पलायिनीप्रवृत्तीनां नदीनां चतिषालोऽनूतैर्नैः सेतुः .....  
..... वनवास्तुप्रप्रतीकारपि निरिधिरुत्ततडाकाकोपतस्तद्धारधरयो-  
ऽवनिष्ठापितानां सुगमिधनसद्वयपरमवोरमेनेन वायुना प्रपञ्चितसुचिद्विचित्र  
ज्योतीरुत्तताप ..... इत्युत्तपुष्पावतामतां चानदीतस-  
न्निष्ठापितनाडीत् चत्वारि कलायतानि विंशदुत्तरावतावतेन एतावन्नेन  
पिक्तीयेन

७ पञ्चसप्ततिहस्ताननगाडेन भेदेन निःसृतसम्पत्तौ नृत्तपक्षपतिध-  
यदु ..... सार्धं नौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रपुत्र ..... राज्ञेय  
पुष्पपुत्रेण कारितं नृत्तपक्ष नौर्यस्य ते (न) वनराजैर्न नृत्तपक्षेनाधिष्ठाप

८ प्रनाडीभिरुत्ततं तत्कारितया च राजासुष्ठुपक्षतविधानवा तस्मिन्  
भेदे दृष्टवा प्रनाड्याधिकृतसेतु ..... नो चानर्गध्यापितसुचिद्व  
राजसुष्ठु ..... वायुचतस्रर्षेऽभिमन्त्र रचयार्थं पतिते इतैन चान्नायो-  
ऽन्नासात्सुचभयधनिष्ठतित

९ सत्त्वप्रतिष्ठापनं चत्वार्यध्यापितवागतं सुष्ठुपक्षपुष्टरपवितरचत्  
विस्तारि ..... (ज) ..... तत्कार्येण सत्त्वभित्तजनपदप्रतिपत्ति .....  
(१) वरवदेन दक्षुत्तावकनरोगदिभिरुपपन्नपूज्यं नगरनिगम (परि)

१० जनपदानां क्षत्रीयैर्जितानामहुराज्यसंभ्रमतीनां पूज्यापराधरागव्यसूय-  
नीहृदामतंसुराज्ञासम्बन्धस्यसौवीरकुसुमरापराजयिदादीनां सवप्यासां तत्प्रभा-  
वाद्य ..... काणविषयाणां पतिना सर्वज्ञत्वान्निवृत्तवीर्यवृद्धजातोद्वेका-  
विधेयानां बोधेयानां प्रसङ्गोत्थादत्वेन दक्षिणापचपतेःशातकर्णैर्द्विरपि निज्यो-  
जयजित्वावजित्वा सन्ध्यावदूरया अहोत्थादनाम्नाप्रययसावा . .....  
प्रविजयेन अहोरात्रप्रतिष्ठापनेन वषार्थंशुखो

११ क्षत्राजितानिजयघातुरागेण यद्वार्थगान्धर्वंन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां  
ननुतीनां धारयधारयविद्यानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकोर्तिनाहुरगमजरयचर्मासिच-  
र्चनिबुधाद्या ..... परचललावयसौवर्ण्येण अहुरहृद्गोमनाम

१२। यवानधीसेन खलखल्लेख यथावत्प्राप्तैर्दक्षिण्युक्तभाणैः जनकरजतवज्र  
नैर्दुर्धरजोपचयविजयन्मानकोथेन स्फुटसुगुणचुरचित्तकान्तयद्वेसययोदारासंज्ञत  
गद्यपद्य ..... नम्रमाद्यनोक्तानक्षरगतियथंसारसत्वादिभिः

१३ परचलक्षसार्धजनेर्येतकान्तभूर्तिना खलनधिगतवज्राक्षयपमान्ना  
नदेष्टुकात्याखलनरानेकनाख्यप्राप्त दाप्ता नञ्चाक्षयपेण अहुराज्ञा नेचलक्षणाव  
गोत्राक्ष ..... वैधर्म्यंकीर्तिं हृदयार्थं च अपि दायिताकरविटं

१४ प्रथमश्रिवाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं खकात्कोशान्महता धनोत्तेन अन-  
तिमहता च कासेन नियुक्तहठतरिस्तारःशानं सैष्ठं विधाय ... .. नितग  
..... रदर्थमतर् कारितचिति वक्षिषत्वे

१५ नञ्चाक्षयपक्ष नतिविषयकर्मरुचिनेरनात्तपुष्यसहस्र्युक्तेरन्यतिमहता-  
ह्रेदकाहृद्व्याहृतिवृत्तयनिभिः प्रत्याप्तातारंभं

१६ पुनःसैष्ठवज्जनैरास्याचाङ्गाभूताह प्रकाह इष्टाविष्टाने पौरजानपदजनह  
यद्वार्थं पार्थिवेन हस्तनानाचानसंहराज्ञायां पावनार्थं नियुक्तेन पञ्चवेन कुक्षेप  
पुक्ते] आनात्तेन हृदिवासेन यथावदर्थधर्मव्यवहारदर्थनैरहुरागमविषयवता  
यक्तेन दंतित चपकेनापिहितेनाख्येवाङ्गाज्येन अक्षितिहतायमंकीर्तिं यथाहि  
महंरभि यथंयताहुडितचिति ।

*Skanda Gupta's Inscription on Northern Face of Rock at Jundgar in Surāshtra.*

(Devanāgarī Transcript.)

१ विष्णुं त्रिविधभित्तभोज्यां नैककात्यायनीतां निदधपतिहृत्कार्यं वीरक-  
राजहार कनकनिखयनायाः शान्तं धाम कच्छायाः

२ स जयति विजितार्तिर्विष्णुरत्नन्तजिष्णुः तद्वत् जयति यत्तत् श्रीपरि-  
शिप्तपद्माः क्षत्रजजनितरीर्षीराजराजाधिराज नरपति

३ भुजगानां वानदप्येकैकानां प्रतिहतिगच्छाणां निर्विषयापकतां न्यप-  
तियुष्यनिक्षेतः स्तब्धयुग्मः द्रुमुन्नीः चतुर्दविजरत्नां स्त्रीतपयन्तद्देवान्

४ अयनिषवनतारि यं अकारात्तसंस्थां पितरि हुरस्यित्वां प्राप्तपत्न्यान्-  
यत्ना अपि च जितनिव तेन प्रथयति यद्यसि यस्या रिपयोपि आसूतभम्नदप-  
निव वदने स्त्रेष्टदेयेषु

५ ऋमेय बुद्ध्या नियुषं प्रथार्य आत्मा च ज्ञात्मान् सुखदीनहेतुन् अपैत  
सर्वां ननुहेन्द्रपुत्रां कच्छोः स्तब्धं यं वरयाचकार तस्मिन्पुत्रे यावति नैव कश्चि-  
नादपेतो ननुजः प्रजापु

६ कार्त्तौ दरिद्रो व्यसनी कर्दुर्यो द्रव्यग्नौ न वः वा अद्यपीहितः स्नात् एवं  
स जित्वा द्रव्यो सगर्वा भस्माप्यदपान् द्विषतश्च ज्ञत्वा सर्वेषु देशेषु विषाव गो-  
मृन् सुञ्चिन्तयावाच वस्तुप्रकारम् स्नात्कोतुहूपो

७ वतिवाग्निनीतो मेधावृत्तिभ्यामनपेतभाषः सत्कार्जवीदार्यगयोपपन्न-  
सुयंदाक्षिण्ययथोन्नितश्च भक्तोदरक्तो न्यविशेषयुक्तः सर्वोपधाभिश्च नियुच्यद्विः  
आनन्दस्यभाषोपगतान्तरात्मा सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रहसः

८ न्यायार्जनेर्धस्य च कः सगर्वाः स्नादजितस्नायश्च रक्षणे च गोपायित-  
स्नायि च उच्चिहेतोर्हंसस्य पात्रप्रतिपादनाय सर्वेषु भक्ष्येभ्यः पञ्चतेषु गो मे  
प्रथिष्याक्षिण्यवान् सुराङ्गान् आवातमेकः अलुपयंस्तो भद्रस्य तस्मिन्नेव  
सगर्वाः

९ एवं निनिबिन्न न्यपायिषेन नैकानहोरात्ररत्नान् अगत्वा यः संनिवृ-  
त्तोर्धतया कश्चित् सन्त्यक् सुराङ्गापनिपादनाय निवृज्य देवान्तर्यं प्रतिष्ठां

सत्साधनापन्नासो बभूवुः पूर्वोत्तराणां दिशि पथोदत्तं निवृज्य राजाष्टतिषां-  
सत्साधून्

१० तस्यात्मनोऽस्यात्मनभावनुक्तो द्विधेय आत्मात्मनयेन नीतः सर्वात्मनात्मन  
च रक्षणीयो नित्यात्मनानात्मनकान्तरूपः रूपाद्वयरूपेणैवितैर्विचितै नित्यप्रभो  
(दा) नित्यसर्वभावः प्रथमपद्माक्षरप्रपञ्चतो मन्त्रां धरत्यः धरतानतानाम्

११ अथ भङ्गविचक्रप्राप्तितोषाविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य असुखे-  
रहस्यज्ञतैश्चदाप्तः पितॄन् यच्च विशेषवाचकार ज्ञाना प्रभुत्वं प्रियो नयच्च  
शौर्व विनाशोद्यंक्त ? न च . सादानवदीनता च दाक्षिण्यगान्धर्व्यगन्धूयता च  
सौन्दर्यमार्थेतरनिष्कृष्ट अनिश्चयोवैयंक्षुदीर्यता च

१२ इत्येवमेतत्तियमेव यक्षिर्वापिप्रभासिन युष्वापसन्ति न विद्यतेसौ सक-  
 खेपि लोके जलोपमानस्य युष्मैः क्रियेत न एव चातुर्लोक्येन युष्मानितत्वात् बहुव-  
 नृवास्तुपमानभूतः इत्येवमेतानपिकानतोऽन्याद्युष्वाप्मरीष्य सत्यमेव पित्रा यः  
 सक्षिदुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां विधेयपूर्णान् प्रपकार सम्बन्ध

११ आश्रित्य भीमं कथञ्चिद्वयस्य सहैव नाग्यस्य नरस्य दर्पं नेहेजयाभास  
च कश्चिदेवमस्मिन् पुरेणैव प्रयास दुष्टा(न्) विहङ्गमस्यचयधानं बलिन् काष्ठे  
स लोकास्य च नागरेण यो लाञ्छयाभास पौरवर्गान्, पुत्रान् च परीक्ष्य देवान्  
संरक्षवाञ्छ प्रकृती वंशुव पूर्वं क्षिता भावचमानदायैः

१४ निर्धनत्वाद्योऽप्यसुप्रसवेः सम्बन्धितम्रीतिवृत्तोपचारैः ब्रह्मस्यनामेन परेणयुक्तः शक्तः द्युषिदीनपरो जगत्पतुः प्राजापुः सत्ताये विमद्यान् सिधये धर्माय मोक्षायविरोधनेन (जननीतिपक्ष) पण्यं दत्तात्सत्यायवानलजिनिष्ठं धितम् उक्ता कदापान्यजपद्वाधीताञ्ज्म्रात्किमुक्तं भविता कदाचित्

१५. अथक्रमेणाशुदक्षाश्च आगतैर्निदायकाश्च प्रविशन्ता (तोयदे) वषर्षं तोयं  
मज्जुल्लन्तं चिरं सुदयंर्षं येन विनेदयात्तराद् सज्जत्तराणाञ्चिक्खेयते ढ निंघज्जि  
रन्थैरपि तज्जि (पङ्क्ति) देव रात्तौ दिने प्रोत्थपदक्ख महे सुत्तक्ख कासागण्ठर्णा  
विधाव

१६ इमान्वायैवतकादिनिर्गता पञ्चाशिनीयं सिद्धताविहासिनी वसुध-  
कात्माः निरवस्थोन्मिता इव; पतिं ताव वयोचितं वयुः अनेष्ट पदाम्भजनं  
नदोद्भवं नदोद्भवेवैधतामिवेयवत्ता अनेकवीराम्भजपुष्पवोभितो

१७ नदीनवोदका इव प्रसारितः विधीद (जानाः खडु खय्यो) काः कथं कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः भिवोहि पूषापरराजसुखिता विचिन्तयामासि वधू-  
वत्सुताः अपीच्छन्ते सक्तो सुदर्शनं पुनांश्च सुदर्शनतां गतं ज्ञायाम्

१८ भवेत् सान्धो निविष्टस्वदर्शनं सुदर्शनं .. वयगसन्नुत्पापितः परोभक्ति-  
नपि प्रदक्ष्य धर्मं पुरोवाच शुभास्तुतम् राशोदितार्थं नगरस्य चैन सन्त्यराशा-  
नधिके घतेतु

१९ विंशतिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिष प्र ..... अन्यैश्च ..... आ(वा)वत्सुता  
नद्याप्रभावः आख्याप्रभावैर्विबुधानवेष्टा धनैर्हि जातीनपि तपयित्वा धीरांस्तथा-  
व्यर्थं वचाङ्मानैः भक्त्या च पूज्यान् सुखदय दानैः

२० यैश्चैव वासस्तु तं पूर्वम् ..... प्रवर्ज्यैश्च सन्त्य वासह्वेनादरवान्  
सभूत्वा धनस्य कृता व्यवप्रमेयम् आवापतोदकाद्यतं सक्तं विचारतः वधि-  
रथापि चाटो

२१ वत्सुकोन्वत्पुत्रमानस ... साद्यतह्वस्य वयस्य वत्साव्यवृता(वदेवान्)  
सुखस्यैवदितोपयेन ..... सुजातिदुष्टात्मवितं तडाकं सुदर्शनं धान्यतकस्य-  
कासम्

२२ अपि च सुदृष्टेः प्रान्तविन्यसाद्योभं रचयत्यसमाङ्गमौक्षुर्ध्वं सधृतं  
विन्यस्यति ..... सुवित ..... वदर्थः यद्विप्र

२३ नगरापि च भूवावृत्तिन्योरपुष्टं द्विजवत्सुतगीतप्रज्ञानिर्गटपापं  
यतपि च समानापीतिदुर्भिक्ष ..... दर्शनतडाकसंस्कारपन्थारचना सन्नाम्ना

२४ इन्द्रादिर्ष्यप्रणुदः दधुनिषः स्वयं चक्रेतोः सक्तवायनीयतेः ..... ज्ञादुभूत  
पुण्य ..... दीपस्य गोप्ता नृतां च जेता दृष्टान्विता

२५ द्विषतां दवाद्यसंस्कारजेनास्त्रसुषाम्निनेन गोविन्दपादार्पितजीतिने ...  
नविन्द्योच पादकवले सक्तवाय तत्र चर्यम्ययेन

२६ नृता नृता च कासेनास्त्रप्रपापनतपोरजनेन तेन चर्मं विषतिं रिष्ट  
..... विषे ... तस्य स्तन्यविधिकारचनादुपसक्त

२७ कारितवपन्नापति चक्रवर्तः चक्रपावितेन चर्चं वर्धयतेऽर्चये सुमा-  
नां काश(तोम्यतीते ..... र्च ... स्तितनपोजयन्ताचसक्त

२८ कुर्वन् प्रभुत्वमिव भाति परस्य सूर्यि ..... चक्रवर्त्त सूर्यं नि च ...

## IV.

*Transcript and Translation, with Remarks, of an Inscription on a Stone-Pillar at Jasdan, in Káthiawád.*

ON the 15th August 1862, I submitted to the Society a fresh facsimile, transcript, and translation of the so-called "Sáh Inscription" at Junágad; recording the construction of a bridge by Suvisákha, the Persian Governor of Káthiawád, appointed by Rudra Dáma. I then remarked that "Rudra Dáma appears to have been a grandson of Svámi Chashтана, and not his son; the inscription contained the father's name, but that part is unfortunately completely lost."♦ Our learned Vice-President, the Honorable Mr. Justice Newton, in his paper "On the Sáh, Gupta, and other Ancient Dynasties of Kattiawar and Guzerat," read on the 10th September 1863, found this fact "an entirely satisfactory solution of the difficulty" regarding the reading of a coin in which the legend was imperfect, and did not give the name of the Sáh king, but was sufficiently preserved to enable Mr. Newton to make out that the coin was of the father of Mahá Kshatrapa Rudra Dáma.\* I am glad to be enabled to restore the name of Rudra Dáma's father, lost both in the rock inscription and coin. The young Pandit who copied for me the Junágad inscriptions, has been fortunate enough to meet with a new inscription on the margin of a lake at Jasdan in Káthiawád. For this he is indebted to his own zeal in seconding my efforts, and to the courtesy and intelligence of the Káthi Chief of Jasdan, who induced my Pandit to stop and to visit the pillar. This inscription is brief, but it gives us the names of five Sáh kings, commencing with Svámi Chashтана :—

Rájá Mahákshatrapa Bhádrámukha Svámi Chashтана; his son, Rájá Kshatrapa Svámi Jaya Dáma; his son, Rájá Mahák-

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, January 1863, pp. 4 and 5.

shatrpa.....Rudra Dāma ; his son, Rājā Mahākshatrpa Bhadramukha Svāmi Rudra Sinha ; his son, Rājā Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Rudra Sena.

The other individuals mentioned in the inscription were in all likelihood officers of the district.

*Transcript in Devanāgarī of an Inscription from Jisdan in Kāthiawad, giving the names of five Śāh-Kings*

- १ वर्षे १२७ शहरपदमस्तुत ५ राज्ञो महाराजपस्य
- २ महाराजस्य सानिबदनपुत्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो च ....स्य
- ३ सानिबदनपुत्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाराजपस्य च . ....
- ४ महाराजपौत्रस्य राज्ञो महाराजपस्य महाराजस्य
- ५ महाराजस्य राज्ञो महाराजपस्य सानिबदनस्य इदं राज्ञं
- ६ ज्ञानसंगोत्रप्रनाथकपुत्रस्य खरपौत्रस्य आह्वयिः उत्पदितास्य १ । ...

We have also here a confirmation of the correct reading and identification of the unique coin of Rudra Sinha, the son of Rudra Dāma, on which Mr. Newton read his paper before the Society in 1861.\* Mr. Newton has already given us Jaya Dāma's coin, but without his name. I hope to exhibit some clear specimens at the next meeting. To me the most important part of the inscription is the date 127, which is the era in which Rudra Sena or his officers wrote the inscription. In my paper on the Sanskrit numerals, submitted to the Society on the 12th December 1862, I stated in my remarks that the coins of Rudra Dāma's son bore date 104 and upwards, and those of his grandson 140. This inscription is dated evidently in the year 127 of the same era, confirming my reading of the numerals entirely. I then ventured also to express my opinion, that the era was that of Kshaharāta or Phrahates, one of the Arsacidæ, and that it corresponded to the Hindu Sakanripakāla, or era of the Saka King. A

\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. p. 15.

more careful study of the inscriptions enables me to furnish also the name of the Saka or Scythian king. That name occurs several times in the Násik, Karlen, and Junir inscriptions, and hitherto I was content, following too implicitly Dr. Stevenson, to look upon Nahapána as the Viceroy of Phrahates, instead of the King himself.

At the next meeting I shall lay before the Society a brief Survey of Indian Chronology from the first century of the Christian era to the twelfth, and in it I propose to discuss more fully the question of this and the other eras.

*Translat on of an Inscription from Jaudan in Káthiawad, giving the names of five Śák-Kings.*

In the year 127 Bhádrapada (month) dark half-7th (day) of the moon, this Satra (tank) of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Bhadrá mukha Svámi Rudra Sena, the great grandson of the son of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Svámi Chashtana; the grandson of the son of Rájá Ksha(trapa) Svámi Jaya Dama, the grandson of Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa. ....Rudra Dáma, (son of) Rájá Mahá Kshatrapa Bhadrá Mukha Svámi Rudra. Of the son of Supra Náthaka of Manasagotra, the grandson of Khara, with brothers.....(some letters not well made out.)

## V.

*A Brief Survey of Indian Chronology, from the First Century of the Christian Era to the Twelfth.*

THE name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta, preserved by classical writers, i. e. Justin, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, &c., who describe the events immediately following Alexander's conquests, has been found to be a connecting link between the history of the East and of the West. In the words of Müller :—"The date of Chandragupta is the sheet-anchor of Indian Chronology;" and to quote the same learned orientalist, "In the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so

precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised."

The object of this paper is to examine closely the Chronology of Indian history ; and with the light which the numerous inscriptions and coins on this side of India has afforded us, to endeavour to trace with accuracy the exact dates of the various dynasties which have ruled over different parts of India, from the first to the twelfth century of the Christian era.

To a classical writer again we are indebted for other connecting links between the history of the East and of the West. Ptolemy Claudius notices the names of some Indian kings in giving a list of the royal cities of India. Ozene, he tells us, is the capital of Tiasenes, Bathana of Siri Polemeus, Hippocura of Baleocurus, and Malanga of Basaronax.\* That Siri Polemeus may be the same as Pulómávi of the Andhra dynasty of the Puráṇas, was guessed at by Wilford and Lassen; and in my paper on the Junágad inscription of Rudra Dáma, or rather of his Governor Suvisákha, I pointed out that Tiasenes was no other than Svámi Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudra Dáma. The Jasdan inscription, discovered last month, gives us the name of Chashtana and of his four lineal descendants ; the last of whom flourished in the year 127 of a certain era. Inscriptions of Padumávi are found at Kárlen, Násik, Nánághát, and the character of the writing closely resembles the inscription of Rudra Dáma's Governor of Suráshtra and Junágad. We have also long and valuable inscriptions, of Gautamiputra, who has hitherto been looked upon as the father of Padumávi, as wrongly stated in the Pauráṇika lists. Gautamiputra however appears from one of the Násik inscriptions to have been the son of Padumávi : he boasts of ruling over Arvaka, Amaka, Madrak, Suráshtra, Kukura, Aparta, Anúpa, Vidurbha, A'karávatí, and over the

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\* Basaronax is in all likelihood Vatsa-rájá, and Malanga, may be Malaya.

hills Vikpraxavata, Páriyátra, Sahya, Krishnagiri, Mancha, Srísthána, Malaya, Mahendra, Freshhagiri, and Chakora. But what is worthy of remark, the encomiast calls him the destroyer of Sakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, and the destroyer of the descendants of Kshaharáta, and the establisher of the glory of the family of Sataváhana. He is also called Satakarni. It is evident from the inscriptions that Padumávi or Pulumávi was not so great a monarch as his son Gautamiputra, whose conquests extended considerably to the north, i. e. as far as Cutch and Sindha.

The Junágad inscription of Rudra Dáma's Governor, which, judging by the character of the writing, is contemporaneous, tells us that Rudra Dáma recovered by his own prowess, nearly the same countries as are stated to have been conquered by Gautamiputra, i. e. the eastern and western Akaravati, Anupa, Anarta, Suráshtra, Asvaka, Cacha, Sauvira, Kukuta, Aparanta, Nisadha, &c., and the inscription further adds that Rudra Dáma repeatedly defeated Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinápatha or the southern roads. Chashana and Padumávi being considered, on the authority of Ptolemy, as contemporaries, Rudra Dáma and Gautamiputra can without violence to chronology be also considered as contemporary monarchs. The inference I draw from the inscription is, that Gautamiputra extended his conquest to the north of the Godavari and the Narmadá as far as Cutch and Sind, and that he soon lost the territories which he had thus conquered by the superior might of Rudra Dáma. Whether Gautamiputra had first conquered Jaya Dáma the father of Rudra Dáma, or Chashana himself, is not clear; in all likelihood he only conquered territories which had independent governors owing a certain amount of allegiance to the rulers of Ujjayini. Rudra Dáma would appear to have defeated Satakarni or Gautamiputra, and a people called Yodheyas, a warlike tribe from the north. The contemporary existence of Padumávi and Gautamiputra or Satakarni in the south, and of Chashana,

Jaya Dáma, and Rudra Dáma in the north being satisfactorily established, I shall proceed to examine the dates that should be ascribed to them.

Although we know absolutely nothing of Ptolemy himself, fortunately his date is known. He certainly flourished in A. C. 139 at Alexandria, and survived Antoninus, and therefore was alive in A. C. 161. It is as well to remember that the geographical treatise of Ptolemy was based on an earlier work of Marinus of Tyre, but Marinus himself flourished in the middle of the 2nd century of the Christian era. Allowing a few years for precedence, we should be fully justified in placing Chashána and Padumávi between A. C. 130 and A. C. 150. Padumávi's inscriptions are dated in the 3rd, 6th, 7th, 19th, and 24th years of his reign, and Gautamiputra's Commander-in-Chief's Násik inscription is dated in the 7th year of his own reign. Gautamiputra's northern conquests, however, appear to have been effected whilst his father was living, as they are recorded in an inscription dated in the 19th year of Padumávi's reign. Jaya Dáma's reign was therefore in all probability very short, and Rudra Dáma flourished, it is to be presumed, somewhere about A. C. 170. On the coins of Rudra Dáma's son, I find the date 104, or rather 114, as the best specimens show; and for Rudra Dáma's grandson we have 127 in the Jaskan inscription, and 140 on the coins. Rudra Dáma being placed in A. C. 170, his son Rudra Sinha may well be assumed to have reigned A. C. 190; and as his coins bear the date 114, the only era which would give this result, is the Sakanripakála, which commences 78 years after Christ.

I shall now proceed to show that this Sakanripakála, or era of the Saka-king, is that of Nahapána, in all likelihood a Parthian monarch, and a descendant of Phrahates. There are three inscriptions, at Karlen, Násik, and Junir respectively, which are dated, the Násik in the 42nd and the Junir in the 45th year; the date at Karlen being lost. The inscriptions

begin with the simple words Varshé (in the year). The Jaskan inscription, dated 127, begins exactly in the same way.

One of the Násik inscriptions, which is dated in the 42nd year, is clearly older than those of Padumávi and Gautami-putra, by about 50 years, judging by the alphabet. The inscription states that Ushavadáta, the son of Dinika and the son-in-law of Rájákharaáta Kshatrapa Nahapána, being married to his daughter Dakshamitrá, constructed a cave and made magnificent charitable endowments near Násik. Ushavadáta is called a Saka in another of the Násik inscriptions. He proceeded by the orders of the "Bhatáraka," i.e., I presume, of Nahapána, to release Uttambhádra Hirudha [Herod?] at Malaya; the Málayas, a people of the southern ghats, fled at his approach, but he compelled them to submit to the Uttambhádra Kshatris. Ushavadáta then retired to Pushkara, in all likelihood the holy place of pilgrimage near Ajmir. As Ushavadáta was a Saka, it is proper to assume that Nahapána was of the same tribe, i.e. a Scythian or Parthian. The word Kshaharáta\* was pronounced long ago to resemble Phrahates, one of the Arsacidæ, by Dr Stevenson, but he supposed Nahapána was a Viceroy of Phrahates; whilst the direct and easy construction of the sentence leads me to interpret the title as meaning King Phrahates Mahákshatrapa Nahapána. Unfortunately the history of the Arsacidæ is not well preserved, and I am unable to decide the exact relationship which Nahapána bore to Pacorus or Artabanus the Fourth. Pacorus is admitted to have ascended the throne A. C. 77, after the death of Artabanus the Fourth, who is, I suppose, the same as Vologeses the First. Is the name Nahapána the same as Vonones? Is it to be presumed that Nahapána entered upon his conquest of India or became independent of Pacorus A. C. 78? His power extended southwards to Mala-

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\* The name is also spelt Kungaráta, which is, I believe, the Magadhi form of Kshaharáta. The popular name of Khengara in Káshmir is, I presume, derived from Khagaráta.

bar, and he no doubt conquered or displaced the dynasty of Sātavāhana, which ruled for several centuries before at Paithana on the Godāvarī.

Padumāvi is called Navanara Svāmi, i. e. a new king, and he has also the title of the Svāmi of Benākatākā. Gautamiputra is also called the Svāmi of Benākatākā. Benākatākā is, I believe, identical with Warangul, the capital of Telingana or Andhra. Some time after the displacement or destruction of the Sātavāhana dynasty by Nahapāna, Padumāvi from the south-east appears to have advanced towards the north and occupied Paithana; and his son Gautamiputra made still greater conquests towards the north.

From the Kathā-sarita-sāgara it appears that a king named Sātavāhana ruled at Paithana, when Nanda reigned at Pātali-putra, i. e. about 325 years before Christ. The poet Guṇādhyā at the Court of Sātavāhana, collected in "Piśācha Bhāṣā" a great variety of stories, a Sanskrit abstract of which we have now in the shape of the Kathā-sarita-sāgara of Somadeva and Kshemendra. The Nānāghāta inscription notices a Kumāro Sātavāhana, evidently a prince reigning in the neighbourhood of Paithana; this inscription is about 150 years later than those of Aśoka; and as Gautamiputra is praised for re-establishing the glory of the Sātavāhana-dynasty, we may conclude, that princes of this dynasty ruled at Paithana from the 4th century before Christ to the 1st after.\*

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\* Jaina authors have also stories regarding Sātavāhanas, of Paithana. Śūdraka is said by Rājasekhara to have been a Brahman Minister of a Sātavāhana, who afterwards bestowed upon his Minister one half of his dominions, for rescuing his queen from danger. Sātavāhana is described by them to have made a collection of Gāthās. Whether the Śūdraka of the Mrichchhakatika is this Brahman Minister and warrior I am not yet prepared to say. I possess a copy of 700 Gāthās attributed to Sātavāhana, having love for their subject. They are in mixed Prakrit. I have two Sanskrit commentaries on them. Bāṇa and Dhanañjaya have references to Sātavāhana's collection of Gāthās. The following novel names of poets are contain-

The era of Nahapána may therefore be synchronous with his coronation on defeat of a Sátaváhana-king of Paithana. Nahapána does not appear to have had a son, and I presume that the father Chashtana was a descendant of a son of Dakshimitrá and Ushavadáta. Our learned Vice-President, Mr. Newton, has succeeded in finding a coin of Chashtana, in which Chashtana's father's name appears indistinctly.

The era which corresponds to the so-called Śáliváhana era is the Śakanripakála. It is so called in the oldest grants of the Chulukyas.

Áryabhaṭa senior, the celebrated Indian astronomer, who states that the earth and not the sun moves, gives the date of his birth corresponding to A. C. 476, in the years of the Kaliyuga. He was a native of Kusumapura, i. e. Pátaliputra, and although he appears to have visited Ujjayini, he makes no mention of the Śáliváhana or Vikram eras.

The next most eminent astronomer is Varáha Mihira, who, on astronomical grounds, is supposed to have flourished about the middle of the sixth century after Christ. I have lately met with 509 Śaka-kála or A. C. 587, as the date of his death, in a commentary by Ámarāja, on the *Khanda-khádya-karana* of Brahmagupta. Varáha Mihira shows some acquaintance with Greek authors, and gives a great many Greek astronomical terms. He informs us that the Śakendra-kála commenced in the year 3179 of the Kaliyuga. In another place he calls the era Śaka Bhúpa-kála, both the expressions signifying, era

ed in the work, which is said in some of the Jaina MSS. to have been composed by the assistance of Pandits:—Bodisa, Chulloha, Makarandaseña, Amalarāja, Kumāriśa, Śrīrāja, and Bhīmasāmi. Kālanātha, the commentator, gives the following additional names:—Kavirāja, Viśvādatta, Rati-rāja, Paramara-ika, Nāśira, Avatāśi, Kavva, Uśaśa Jalādhivāni Kesaava. There are allusions frequently to the Godāvari, Narmadā, Tapti and the Vinḍhya mountains; one also to the liberality of Vikramāditya, to the yellow or rather brown robes of the Buddhist priests and to Fudḍha. The invocation is to Śiva, and there are many allusions to him and Pārvatī, his consort.

of the Saka-king. Brahmagupta, who wrote in *Saka-kāla* 550 or A. C. 628, speaks of so many years having passed at the "end of Saka."

Bhaṭṭotpala, who wrote his commentaries on the works of Varāha Mihira in "Saka" 888, i.e. A. C. 956, explains the expression *Sakendra-kāla* as follows : Saka means king of the Mlechchha tribe, and the time when they were destroyed by Vikramāditya Deva is properly known as Saka.

Bhāskarachārya, who wrote A. D. 1113, gives the years of the Kaliyuga to the "end" or "death of the Saka-king." There is no allusion to the era of Vikramāditya or *Śalivāhana* in the works of Fahian or Hiouen Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. They, as Buddhists, reckon from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha.

In an able paper by the Rev. C. Alwis on the Principles of Singalese Chronology,\* he observes :—"The Singalese have four eras by which they date the year of any event. That which is most familiar to the generality of the people is the *Sāka Warusa*, which is the year of some king of the continent of Asia, whose name was *Sāka* and who was said to be the head of the royal house of Yavana (Grecian)."

Legendary tales in the south of India regarding *Śalivāhana*, as given in one of the Mackenzie manuscripts,† state that "*Śalivāhana* was born in the country of Ayodhyā, in a potter's house under the influence of Athi Sheshan."

Abu Rehan Mahomed Albiruni, the celebrated Arabian astronomer and author, who accompanied Mahmood of Ghazni in his expedition against Somanatha, thus writes of the Saka era :—

"The Saka era, called by the Indians *Suka-kāla*, is pos-

\* Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1856—58, page 184.

† Second Report on the Examination and Restoration of the Mackenzie Manuscripts, by the Rev. William Taylor, page 49.

terior to that of Vikramāditya by 135 years. Śaka is the name of a prince who reigned over the countries situated between the Indus and the sea. His residence was in the centre of the empire, in the country named A'ryāvarta. The Indians cause him to be born in another class than that of the Sakyas ; some pretend that he was a Sudra and a native of the town of Mansoorā. There are even some who say that he was not of the Indian race, and that he was born in western countries. The people had much to suffer from despotism until they received aid from the east. Vikramāditya marched against him, put his army to flight, and killed him in the territory of Kuroor, situated between Multān and the castle of Luny. This epoch became celebrated by the joy which the peoples felt at Śaka's death, and it was selected for an era, principally by astronomers. On the other hand Vikramāditya received the title Śrī, on account of the honour which he had acquired. But after all, the interval between the era of Vikramāditya and the death of Śaka, proves that the victor was not the celebrated Vikramāditya, but another prince of the same name.\*

Hemachandra has the following synonymes for Śātavāhana :—Hāla, Śālivāhana, and Śālāhana, Runtala, Chauravindha, and Sasso, in the Des/ Nāma Mālā.

We do not meet with the statement that the Śaka era commenced with the destruction of the Sakas till the 8th century, and I cannot help thinking that the defeat of the Sakas by Gautamiputra is the event confounded by later writers with the real Śaka-kāla adopted by Ushavadāta and the Śāh kings. The difference between the Śaka-kāla, A. C. 78, and the date of the northern conquest of Gautamiputra is about

\* Prince's Essays by E. Thomas. Vol. II, p. 168.

Not a single inscription or Copper-plate grant is dated in the Vikrama Samvat before the 11th century of the Christian era. The Vikrama Samvat was brought into use on the revival of Jainism and the establishment of the Anhilpura dynasty, in Gujarat.

60 or 70 years, and it is worthy of observation that a mistake of about 60 years runs through Buddhist chronology up to the 3rd century after Christ (*see* Turnour's Introduction to the Mahavanso, page 38); and I find the same error in the writings of the ablest Jaina author, Hemáčárya. In some cases the Vikrama era is confounded with the Śaka-kála, and *vice versa*. The Svétámbara Jains place the Nirvána of Mahávira 470 years before the Vikrama era; the Digambaras 605. The difference, it will be observed is 135, and I have no doubt it has arisen from the latter confounding the two eras, in clumsy attempts at calculating backwards, and then trying to make a correction by the addition of 135 years, which is the difference between the Vikramáditya and Śáliváhana eras.

An inscription in the Kanheri caves, of about the same age as that of Rudra Dáma, mentions the name of a king Śaka Sena, who evidently ruled over the Concan. Along with the hordes of the Śakas, Scythians, or Parthians, or perhaps shortly afterwards, came the A'bhíras, of whom I have discovered an inscription at Násik. One of their kings is named Iśvarasena, the son of Sivadatta; judging by the alphabet, Iśvarasena appears to have ruled shortly after Rudra Dáma, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Násik. Were the Gáuli kings, in the neighbourhood of Násik, and of Trimbakesvara, the same as the A'bhíra kings? I am inclined to attribute the coin of Iśvaradatta to one of the A'bhíra kings. The difference of the letters of Ushavadáta's inscription and that of Rudra Dáma is, as I have stated, about fifty years. We may therefore now classify the Parthian rulers of India as follows:—

Kshaharáta, Mahákshatrapa Nahapána, A.C. 78; Ushavadáta, his son-in-law, the son of Diniká, the husband of Dakshamitrá,  $78 + 45 = \text{A.C. } 123$ ; Svámi? Tika; Svámi Chashtana, about A.C. 150, the contemporary of Ptolemy Claudius, at Ujjayini. His son was Jaya Dáma. His son

Rudra Dáma. Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Dáma, dated 102, 104, 105, 114; Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sinha. 132, 138; Yasa Dáma, son of Dáma Sáh. 15 (?) Dáma Játa Sñi, son of Rudra Sáh. 154; Vira Dáma, son of Dáma Sáh. 164; Vijaya Sáh, son of Dáma Sáh. 168, 172; Dáma Játa Sñi, son of Dáma Sáh. 178; Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dáma. 188, 198; Viśva Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh. 188, 200; A'tri Dáma, son of Rudra Sáh. 210, 214; Viśva Sáh, son of A'tri Dáma. 217, 225; Rudra Sinha, son of Svámi Jina Dáma. 230; Aśa Dáma, son of Rudra Sáh. 238, 240, 23 (?); Svámi Rudra Sáh, son of Svámi Rudra Dáma. 292, 298; Svámi Rudra Sáh, son of Svámi Satya Sáh.

For this arrangement I am indebted to the invaluable researches of Mr. Newton. The numerals are given from my own researches.

The capital of these princes, or at all events of Chashtana, was Ujjayini in Málava, for which valuable piece of information we are indebted to Ptolemy.

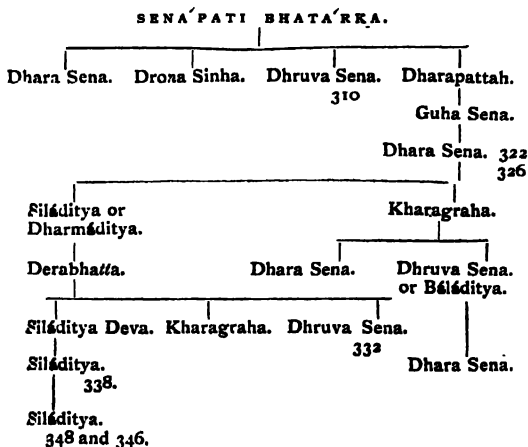
The coins of the so-called Sáh kings come down to 298 of the Sakan'ipakála, and the era of the Saka-king having been so long and successively adopted, and accurately preserved on coins and inscriptions, became undoubtedly the best known and most prevalent era in India, as well as in Ceylon, Burmah, Bálí, Java, and even Japan, to which Buddhism was carried from India in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Valabhi copper-plate grants are dated from 311 to 348 Samvat. A copper-plate grant in the Society's possession, which has evidently been overlooked up to this time, actually calls the era Sakan'ipakála, or, to be more precise, it is dated in the fourth century "Samvatsara Satachatusthaye," of the Sakan'ipakála. I have reason to believe that the grant is old, but there is evidence of its having been forged within 50 years of the last of the Valabhi grants as yet discovered. Whether the grant be genuine or not, the evidence in regard to the name of the era does not materially lose its value, as the forger has

been careful not to give the exact year, but simply to state the century of the era, which we must accept as correct, as this forger may naturally be expected to avoid an error in date, which would vitiate the document more than any other single error.

The year 311 closely following on the latest date on the coins of the Sâh kings, indicates clearly that the Valabhîs succeeded the Sâhs. A sentence in the copper-plate, which has hitherto not been translated correctly, shows that they triumphed over a sun-worshipping people (Maitrakas). The Valabhîs are generally supposed to have reigned long, but it is clear from the dates, as well as from the son of the minister of one of the early kings having served nearly the last king, that the dynasty did not last more than 40 years.

Exactly two years ago, I gave a correct genealogical table of the Valabhî dynasty, to which, in some instances, I am now enabled to give the dates from the copper-plates :—



The dates tally better than in any of the schemes yet proposed, with the date assigned by Jaina authors to Dhruva Sena, in whose reign the Kalpa-sūtra was publicly read, A. C. 466, at A'nandapura. I was inclined at one time to identify a Dhruvapattah of Valabhi, noticed by Hiouen Thsang as his contemporary, and as the son-in-law of the son of Śilāditya or Harshavardhana, with the Dharapattah of the genealogical table of the Valabhis, but it is now clear that Hiouen-Thsang's Dhruvapattah is an entirely different monarch.

The latest date of the Valabhi kings is 348, *i.e.* A. C. 426, and they appear to me to have been succeeded by Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. Regarding the various errors which have been committed in reading the dates of the Gupta dynasty, it would be waste of time now to dwell upon, but it is clear from the Junágad inscription, where the date is given three times, as well as from the Kuhaon pillar inscription, that Skandagupta flourished from 129 to 141 of the "Guptakāla, an era which was established from the foundation of the Gupta dynasty."

Many attempts have been made to decipher and translate correctly the first lines on the Kuhaon pillar, containing the date. The grand source of error has arisen from putting a visarga after the word Śānte (in the peaceful), the visarga not existing in the original Śānte, being an adjective qualifying Rājyē.. The correct rendering and translation, I submit is :—"In the month of Jyāishtha, in the year 141, in the peaceful reign of Skandagupta." The Benares copper-plate grants of Sri Hastinah are dated in the 163rd year of the Guptakāla (Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II., page 251), and I have no doubt that the date on Toramāna's coins, 187, is from the same era.

When did this era commence? is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. I am inclined to regard, with Colone Cunningham, A. C. 318, as the commencement of the

**Guptakāla.** I have a Jaina manuscript which is dated in the 772nd year of the Guptakāla, but unfortunately the corresponding Vikrama or Śālivāhana's year is not given, nor is it possible at present to ascertain the exact date of the author from other sources. It is remarkable, that A. C. 318 is equal to 78+240, i. e. the era commences four cycles of 60 after the Sakanripakāla. The principal, and I may say the only authority for the Guptakāla, is Albiruni, who says, that the era of the Guptas begins with the 241st year of the era of the Sakas. For my own part, I am not disposed to place implicit reliance on Albiruni, who blunders frequently in his facts and dates; not so much perhaps from want of zeal or ability, as from carelessness and imperfect knowledge of his informants.

We have the following dates for the Gupta kings;—

Chandragupta I.

Samudragupta.

Chandragupta II. .... 82—93 Guptakāla.

Kumāragupta ..... 90+?—121 „

Skandagupta ..... 138—141 „

Bakragupta.

Devagupta.

Budhagupta ..... 165—180 „

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who, according to this scheme, flourished about A. C. 400, gives us a long list of contemporary kings, and notices also the Shāhan Shahi king of Persia, evidently one of the Sassanians. The list is as follows:—

Mahendra of Kosala.

Vyāghrarāja of Mahākantāraka.

Mandarāja of Kaurāttaka.

Śvāmedatta of Mahendrāgiri and Kottāraka.

Kātyāyana of Airandapalla.

Vishnu Śāpāvamukta of Kānchi.

Hastivarman of the race of Nila-rāja.

Ugrasena of Valaka.

Kubera of Devarāndhra.

Dhananjaya of Kothalapura.

Dakshināpatha,  
in Southern  
India.

|                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Rudra-datta    | } of Aeyā-varta.* |
| Matila.        |                   |
| Nāgadatta.     |                   |
| Chandravarmā.  |                   |
| Gaṇapati.      |                   |
| Nāga.          |                   |
| Nāgasena.      |                   |
| Achyuta Nandi. |                   |
| Balavarmā.     |                   |

The Valabhi Samvat, if identical, as Albiruni says, with the Guptakāla, is certainly not that adopted by the Valabhi princes, as their copper-plate grants are dated, not from 1 to 50, but, as I think, in the Śaka-kāla from 310 to 348; the Valabhi Samvat then, must now be supposed to be the Guptakāla introduced into Surāshtra by Kumāragupta† and Skandagupta.

Of about the same age as the inscription of Skandagupta at Junāgarh, is a copper-plate grant, dug out by the late Dr. James Bird from a tope at Kanheri. This is dated in the 245th year of a reigning dynasty, the name of which is not clearly copied, either in the copies published or in the copper-plate itself. A correct decipherment of the first line of this copper-plate would give us the name of a new dynasty. I read it as follows;—"Obelance to the all-knowing: in the 245th year of the reigning dynasty of the Trikutakas, &c." The rest of the copper-plate is not correctly deciphered by Dr. Stevenson, but admits of no difficulty now.

A country named Trikutā is mentioned in one of the Ajantā inscriptions in connection with Lāta and Andhra; and

\* Journal Bengal A. S. Vol VI. part II. page 979 The list is, according to my own reading of the inscription, somewhat different from that given by Prinsep.

† Prinsep's Essays, by E. Thomas, Vol. I. page 234.

The Valabhi princes in my opinion were Skandagupta, the date of the last of the Valabhi monarchs being 348 + 73 = A. C. 426, and that of Kumāragupta 318 + 97 = A. C. 415

the dynasty of the Trikutakas which seems to have reigned two centuries and a half, appears to me to be the same as the "Sáh" dynasty.

The Ajantá inscriptions enable me to trace a dynasty of Kailakila Yavanas in Vákátaka, a province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri Sála hills, south of Hyderabad in the Deccan.\* They appear to have ruled in eastern and central India, shortly after the "Sáh," or to be precise, "Sena," kings, the successors of Rudra Dáma. The dynasty of Vindhyaśakti, the chief of the Kailakila Yavanas, according to some of the Puráṇas, may now be classified as follows :—

Vindhyaśakti.

Pravara Sena.

Rudra Sena, grandson of Gotami, daughter of the king Bhavanága.

Prithvi Sena.

Rudra Sena II.

Pravara Sena II., son of Prabhávatiguptá, the daughter of Mahárájádhirája, Sri Deva Gupta.

Deva Sena.

The connection of this family with the Gupta and Naga kings is worthy of note.

Budhagupta is the last of the Guptas whose date has been found. In the same site (Eran) and in nearly the character as the inscription containing Budhagupta's name, is one dated in the first year of Toramána, and the question naturally occurred to me whether he was not identical with the Toramána of Káśmír, mentioned in the Rája-taranginí.

In my Essay on Kálidása, read 11th October 1860, I remarked : "It is not unlikely that this Toramána noticed in the Eran pillar and Boar inscriptions (J. B. A. S. Vol. VII. pages 632 and 633) is the same as the brother of Hiranya, noticed in the 3rd book of the Rája-taranginí."† I then

\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII., page 58.

† Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, No. XXI. p. 220.

proceeded briefly to give reasons which need not here be repeated. But the best proof that Toramāna succeeded Budhagupta is afforded by the numeral attached to the inscription on Varāha's image at Eran, which I am now enabled to read as 100 + something effaced, whilst the coins of Toramāna show 180 + some number under ten, the symbol for 100 being effaced. The era of the dates is evidently that of the Gupta-kāla. Toramāna flourished, therefore, A. C. 498, or rather a little after A. C. 500. Babu Rājendralāla Mitra has read an able paper on the same subject,\* and has come independently to the same conclusion.

His son was Pravara Sena, and I have shown in my Essay on Kālidāsa, that he was the king of Kāśmīr, when Hiouen-Thsang passed through his territories, both on his entrance into, and departure from India. Regarding this identification Professor Max Müller, in a letter to me, dated May 1st, 1862, reviewing my Essay on Kālidāsa, observes : "This is a very bold proceeding, for it makes Pravara Sena II. nearly 400 years later than the date assigned to him by Professor Lassen. Yet I am bound to confess, that though the evidence is indirect and circumstantial, it seems to me irresistible."

But a great difficulty now begins to stare me in the face. If all I have stated about the date of Budhagupta, Toramāna, and Pravara Sena be correct, the date of the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang, A. C. 617—6, is incorrect by about sixty years ; i. e. Hiouen-Thsang must be supposed to have visited India sixty years earlier than what is made out from Chinese chronology. Such an assertion would scarcely obtain credence with the illustrious translator of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims ; but after thinking over the subject for a long time, and taking into consideration the evidence of copper-plate grants, and inscriptions on slabs in

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\* Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, No. III. 1861.

southern India, deciphered by Mr. (now Honourable) Walter Elliot, the conclusion at which I am compelled to arrive is, that Hiouen-Tsang's visit to India is to be antedated by about sixty years. In that case the dates I have assigned in my Essay on Kālidāsa to the great poet, as also to Harshavikramāditya, Pravara Sena, and Harshavardhana, will have to be shifted backwards to the same extent. I shall now proceed to explain my reasons :—

We meet with grants of the Chálukya dynasty from Sakanripakāla 411 downwards. All the facts and dates that have been disclosed by dozens of copper-plate grants found in different parts of India during the last 30 years, have tended to confirm one another ; and all doubt regarding Sakakāla being the same as the present Śālivāhana era, is removed by a comparison of the dates of some of the later Chálukyas noticed by Muhammadan writers in the years of the Hegira era, with that assigned to them by the copper-plate grants, in terms of the Sakanripakāla. Hiouen-Tsang informs us that the king of Mahārāshtra, when he visited the country, was named Purakēsa, which is no doubt the same as Pulakēsi of the copper-plate grants. He describes the Marathas as brave and powerful, and that Harshavardhana of Kanoj, whom he calls Śilāditya, never succeeded in conquering them. Now according to the copper-plate grants there was a powerful king named Pulakēsi the 2nd, whose grant is dated 488, or A. C. 566, and who is described as having defeated Sri Harsha,\* the lord of the northern countries. If therefore Pulakēsi of Mahārāshtra and Harshavardhana of Kanoj were contemporaries of Hiouen-Tsang, these two are distinctly indicated in the copper-plate grants, and with the date A. C. 566. Now we have placed the commencement of Toramāsa's reign about the year A. C. 498, and as his brother Hiranya, who succeeded at the same time to the throne of Kāśmīr,

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Oct. 1844, p. 5.

reigned 30 years, and Mátrigupta further reigned nearly five, the commencement of Pravara Sena the second's reign would be A. C. 533, and its end 60 years later, i.e. A. C. 593. As the evidence regarding the existence of Pravara Sena in Káśmir, whilst Hiouen-Thsang was in India, has been pronounced irresistible by so great an authority as Max Müller, and as the date of his reign derived from inscriptions of Budhagupta and Toramāna exactly tallies with that obtainable for Hiouen Thsang from the grants of the Chálukyas, it is impossible to admit the correctness of the date assigned to Hiouen-Thsang, and at the same time to present a consistent and correct chronological scheme of any of the Indian dynasties. Granting that Harshavardhana of Kanoj flourished A. C. 550, Harshavikramáditya must be placed in from 450 to 500.

## VI.

### *The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the Story of Kálakáchárya.*

A SANSKRIT treatise of 10 pages entitled *Kálakáchárya Kathá*, without date, and without the author's name, contains the following story :—

In the town of Dharávása there was a king of the name of Vajra Sinha. His queen's name was Sura Sundarl. They had a son named Kálaka Súri (in some MSS. the name is spelt Kálíka Súri) and a daughter Sarasvatí.

Kálaka was initiated into the Jaina doctrines by Guna Sundara Súri, and Sarasvatí was initiated by Kálaka. They went to Avantí or Ujjayiní in Málava. Sarasvatí whilst walking with other Sádhis, or nuns, outside the city, was seen by Gardabhilla, Rájá of Ujjayiní, who became enamoured of her beauty. He caused her to be carried by force into his Antáṣṭura or zenana. Kálakáchárya proceeded to the king, and entreated for the release of his sister, who had vowed perpetual chastity. He appealed to his duty as king

to afford protection against violence and injustice, and had recourse to other arguments, but the king was inexorable and made no reply. Kálakáchárya then complained to the Sangha or congregation, which also interfered and tried in many ways to persuade the king to release the nun. The king paid no heed to the Sangha also. At last Kálakáchárya, in despair, determined on revenge, and to do his utmost to deprive the king and his sons of the throne and all its privileges. He feigned madness, rubbed mud on his body, and commenced wandering through Ujjayini. The old ministers of the king entreated him thereon to release the nun, but without success. Kálaka Sùri, on this, proceeded to the west bank of the Indus. The kings of the country were called Sáhí. He resided at the house of one of the greatest Sáhís. By his skill in astrology he obtained great influence over the Sáhí. One day finding the Sáhí dejected, Kálakáchárya inquired into the cause. The Sáhí replied, "Our King, who is called Sáhina-Sáhí, has written to me to send off my head at once, and a similar order has been sent to 95 other rájás or chiefs." Kálakáchárya advised that they should all join their forces and invade Hindúkadesa (India). They gladly adopted the idea, crossed the Sindhu (Indus) and proceeded to Suráshtra, where they halted on account of the rainy season. All the chiefs, hands folded, served Kálakáchárya as their Guru (preceptor.) After the rains, the Guru recommended them to march on Avantí-desá (Málava), and after defeating Rájá Gardabhilla, to divide his kingdom amongst themselves. They pleaded that they had no more of the sinews of war. Kálakáchárya, by a mysterious or magic rite furnished them with gold bricks. The Rájás then beating the Nóbata (drum) reached Látá (Broach). They took the Rájás of Látá, named Balamitra and Bhánumitra with them, and appeared on the confines of Avantí-desá (Málava). The Rájá of Avantí proceeded to the threatened spot. The two armies fought with Kunta (spears?)

and bows. Finding his army defeated, he retreated secretly to Viśālā-purī (Ujjayinī). The enemy's force thereon laid siege to the city. One day, no fight taking place, the Śāhibhātas (Śāhi warriors) inquired of Kālākāchārya the reason of the cessation of hostilities. Kālākāchārya replied, this day is the 8th of the moon, and the king of Avantī is trying to attain Gardabhī-vidyā (Gardabhī science). On searching they found the Gardabhā, (she-ass) entering a house in the bazar, which fact was communicated to the Guru. At each braying, 108 archers were killed. On this the Guru, who was light and quick of hand, himself approached the ass with bow and arrows, and told the chiefs that when the she-ass opened her mouth, to choke it with their instruments of war. They did accordingly, when the she-ass, having covered Kālākāchārya's head with her solid and liquid product, disappeared. The disappearance of the animal deprived the king Gardabhilla of all energy; and the Śāhi Rājās, having secured his person, carried him to the feet of Kālākāchārya, when Gardabhilla stood with his looks cast down on the earth. Kālākāchārya reproached him for his evil conduct, and said that he had that day met with the fruit of the tree of the sin of destroying the vows of a religious lady. Leave your evil ways, and embrace virtue yet—declared Kālākāchārya. The king was not pleased with the Munīndra's charge, and having been untied was set at liberty. Sarasvatī re-entered on her pure (charitra) course. The Śāhi at whose house Kālākāchārya had put up became the President of the chiefs, and was put in possession of (the city), and the others appropriated to themselves different portions of the country. This is the "Saka-vāṇa" (Scythian race or dynasty). Kālākāchārya having undergone the rite of confession, delighted the Sangha.

Balamitra and Bhānumitra of Broach were a sister's sons of Kālākāchārya, and at their invitation went there to perform the rites of the "four months" (rainy season). The king,

listening to the beautiful discourses of Kálakáchárya on religion, used to exclaim with delight that the religion of the Jinanáyaka was the best. This caused pain to the Rájá's family priest, a Brahman, whose hatred rose to the highest pitch when silenced by the Guru in disputation regarding "life and lifeless objects." He now cunningly began himself to praise the Guru, and changed the mind of the king. The Guru saw all this, and retired to Prithví Pratishthána (Páthan) in Maráthi desa, where ruled the mighty and the virtuous (Árhat) Sáyána Rájá. One day the king asked in the assembly when the Paryushan ceremony should be performed. Kálakáchárya said the day will fall on Bhádrapada Sukla Panchami (5th of the bright half of the month Bhádrapada). The Rájá said, on that day is held the festival of Mahendrapujá, which he had to celebrate in accordance with custom. How is it possible to bathe and worship on that day? Therefore the ceremony of the worship of Jinanátha (Prabhávaní) paushadhapánna should be performed on the following or 6th day.

Kálakáchárya said this cannot be. The king then replied let the 4th day be appointed. To this proposal of the king the Guru, remembering the prophecy of Jinavíra to that effect, agreed. For the sake of Jinavíra's prophecy, this day ought to be accepted. Finding the súris or priests becoming corrupt, Kálakáchárya left for Svarna Mahipura ( ?), and stopped alone with Sógara Chandra Súri, without allowing any one to know it. Next is a story of Kálakáchárya's having preached to Śakra or Indra, who came in the form of an old Brahman, discoursing on anunigoda (minute organisms), and following a life of piety, went to Svarga (heaven).

In the Bharahesvara Vritti by Subhasilagani, the story of Kálakáchárya is similarly related. Kálakáchárya's father is called a native of Dharáśpura in Magadha desa (Behar). Kálakáchárya was initiated by 'Guradhara Súri.' Kálakáchárya and his sister are both said to have been initiated by

this Guru. The name of the Saka king is "Sádhan Sinvha." A cup (Kattcholaka) and dagger (Kshuri) from the king was received by the Saka chief whilst sitting in an assembly. The cup he placed on his head out of respect, and, then became dejected. Kálakáchárya asked the reason of the arrival of the cup. The Chief replied that we 96 chiefs have a chief king named "Sádhan Sinvha," who is powerful. When he finds we have a son fit to rule he sends the cup and dagger, when we are expected to cut off our head and transmit it to the great king. Kálakáchárya said, only a fool would cut off his head in this way. What is to be done? said the Saka chief. Kálakáchárya then persuaded the chief and his associates to march with him on the city of Ujjayini, where there are 96 districts.

The halting place in Suráshtra is here said to have been by the side of Dúnka Parvata (Dúnka hill or Dhonka). Having been provided with gold, they passed through the centre of Gujarat, to the borders of Ujjayini désa. Nothing is said about Balamitra or Bhánumitra of Broach.

Ujjayini is surrounded—the account of the Gardabhí-vidyá is slightly different—, Gardabhilla intended to mount on the ramparts, where he would call aloud, and whoever hears his voice would be killed. Kálakáchárya provided himself with 108 archers, who were skilled in hitting a foe by striking in the direction of the sound. They were to let go their arrows as soon as Kálakáchárya did his. Thus the Gardabhí-vidyá's mouth would be filled with arrows. This would fill her with rage ; she would then kick the king, and, otherwise insulting him, abandon him to his fate. All this was accomplished. Kálakáchárya distributed the kingdom amongst the Saka chiefs, Ujjayini itself having been allotted to the one with whom he resided, or says the author, "to his sister's son ;" according to some tradition, I suppose. The last part is briefly related. Kálakáchárya took the atonement and entered the priesthood, and Sarasvatí became a nun and attained Svarga.

In a third manuscript in Gujaráti the *Saka* chief to the West of the Indus is called *Sáki Sáh*. The story of the cup and dagger is given.

In a *Mádwādi* manuscript of 121 pages, without date, but about 300 years old, *Gardabhillā* is stated to have had 84 *Sámantas* or chiefs under him. *Balamitra* and *Bhānumitra* were the sons of a sister of *Kálakáchárya* called *Bhānu Siri*. The author quotes a *Gáthā* stating that the first *Kálaka Sūri* was also known as *Syámárjuna*, and that he flourished 335 years after *Mahāvira*, and that the second *Kálaka Sūri* released *Sarasvatī* 453 years after *Vira*. *Vikrama* flourished 470 years after *Vira*, and the *Śāk*: *Rājya* lasted 17 years, when *Vikramāditya*, having destroyed the *Sakas*, regained his kingdom. One hundred and thirty-five years afterwards a *Saka* king again flourished.

Another *Mádwādi* manuscript by *Jinaranga Sūri*, states that *Balamitra* was king, and *Bhānumitra* his minister. The family priest is called *Gangādhara*. *Kálakáchárya* is said to have introduced himself to the notice of the "Mogul" chiefs by taking up a ball which had fallen into a well, by joining arrows.

A treatise called *Paryushanā Śataka*, with commentary, without date or author's name, contains about 1500 verses. The text is *Māgadhi*, and the commentary *Sanskrit*. It considers the proper day on which the *Paryushanā* ceremony should be performed. The story of *Kálakáchárya* is related in the course of discussion, after collating many manuscripts in which it was previously written. The king of *Dharāvāsa* was *Vajra Sinha*, his wife was *Sura Sundarī*; their son *Kálaka Kumāra*. He got himself initiated after being disgusted with the world. Gradually he attained high orders. For releasing his sister, *Sarasvatī*, and for removing the disfavour into which religious knowledge had fallen, he uprooted *Gardabhillā*. Another sister's sons were *Balamitra* and *Bhānumitra*. The latter was initiated by him into a

religious order and on that account Balamitra was displeased. Kálakáchárya thereon went to Pratishthána pura (Paizhan). There, at the request of Sátaváhana, the Paryushaná parva, which was hitherto observed on the 5th, was changed to the 4th of the moon. Indra is here introduced. Gardabhilla's destruction took place 453 years after Víra.

In the Prabhávaka Charitra, says the author, there is a story of Śrī Pádalīpta Sūri. In it, it is stated that 480 years after Víra's Nirvána, Aryá Khaputáchárya flourished. Also that Śrīmána Sátaváhana, repaired the Tirtha or sacred place (which cannot be made out without having the Prabhávaka Charitra), and there Pádalīpta Sūri established the standard (dhvaja). At the time king Balamitra, Kálakáchárya's relative, was present—also Khaputáchárya. According to other works Paryushaná Kalpa Chūri Nisithachūri and Thaná tritta (thuniga Vritti?) Kálaka Sūri, who changed the ceremony to the 4th of the moon, was the relative of Balamitra, and Bhánumitra, and in modern works, as the Śráddha Vidhi Vinischaya, &c., the same is stated. Hence it appears that Khaputáchárya, Gardabhilla, Balamitra, Bhánumitra, existed before and contemporaneously with Vikramáditya.

Every commentary on the Kalpasútra contains a brief story of Kálakáchárya.

In the Praśandha Chintámani of Merutungáchárya, and in the Chaturvinsati Prabandha of Rájasekhara, another celebrity better known in Buddhist works as Nágárjuna, is stated to have been a contemporary of a Sátaváhana and of Pádalīptáchárya.

I trust soon to be able to discuss the age of the various Nágárjunas, in a separate paper. These stories of Kálakáchárya have not the weight of a contemporary document. Still they are old, and the disputes regarding the day of observing the Paryushaná parva have prevailed for centuries, and kept up the tradition of Kálakáchárya having changed

the day from the 5th to the 4th. A third Kálakáchárya is stated to have flourished A. C. 903. And as all these three divide the honour of having changed the ceremonial day, the present stories are clearly written after the eleventh or twelfth century.

The curious custom of a chief of the Sakas or Káki, being required to cut off his own head on the presentation of a cup and dagger by the great king, appears strange, but it is not stranger than, and has considerable affinity to, the custom, of Hara Kiru, now prevalent amongst the Japanese. Herodotus, in his graphic description of the customs of the Scythians, does not describe this.

Amongst these wild tribes, depending on physical strength for defence against frequent attacks of enemies, there does not appear to have existed that respect and deference for old age which obtains amongst civilized and peaceful nations. According to Onesicritus, the old men were abandoned whilst yet living, to the dogs, who were thence called "buriers of the dead." This statement has, however, been doubted, and is supposed to have originated from the custom even now prevalent among Persis of submitting a corpse to the gaze of a dog before carrying it to the Tower of Silence. It was also a common custom to allow the dead bodies to be devoured by dogs and vultures.

The Sakas of the Mahábhárata, Purávas, and other works, and of the rock-inscriptions and copper-plate grants are correctly admitted to represent the people called Scythians by Western classic writers. The population which the Greeks called Scythæ called themselves Scoloti, according to Herodotus. The Persian equivalent to Sythæ was Sakæ. There is no doubt the word is preserved in the Káki of Kattiawar. The most lucid account of the geographical boundaries of Scythia, and of the various tribes or petty nations included under that name is that given by Professor H. H. Wilson in the *Ariana Antiqua*. We learn from the

ancient historians of Greece that the Scythians east of the Caspian were called *Sakas* and *Massagetæ*, the last probably being the *Mahá Jāts* or the great *Jāts*, of whom we have now a large number in the Punjab. According to Strabo the nomads who conquered Bactria from the Greeks were the *Asii*, *Pasiani*, *Tokhari*, and *Sakarauli*.

Mat-wanlin, on the authority of Chinese historians, states that the Yue-che or Scythians invaded India about B. C. 26, and that they remained in India till A. D. 222. These appear to have been the *A'bhīras*.

In the time of Ptolemy, the Geographer, a large part of North-Western India was occupied by the Indo-Scythians. In the prophetic chapters of the *Purānas*, 16 *Saka* Kings are mentioned along with 8 *Yavana* Kings, 7 *A'bhīras*, 10 *Gardabhiṇas*, &c. In the *Nāsik* cave inscriptions *Ushavadāta*, the son-in-law of *Nahapāna*, is called a *Saka*, whilst a *Saka Sena* appears in the *Kānheri* caves.

*Gautamiputra*, the son of *Padumāvi* and King of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, or the Deccan, boasts of having destroyed *Sakas*, *Yavanas*, and *Palhavas*. This King flourished in my opinion at the end of the 2nd century of the Christian era.

The most prevalent era in India is dated from a *Saka* King A. C. 78. This king I believe was *Kṣaharāta Nahapāna*. The oldest Sanskrit works and the copper-plate grants are dated in this era. The *Vikrama Samvat* does not, strange to say, appear to have been adopted till after the 10th century. It is used by the *Jainas* chiefly, and was first adopted by the kings of *Anahilla-pura* or *Patan*, in *Gujarat*. The so-called *Valabhi Samvat* was not the era adopted by the *Valabhi* kings, whose grants are all dated in the *Saka* era. The *Chālukya* copper-plate grants and their inscriptions on stone are also dated in the *Saka* era. An old copper-plate grant of the *Chālukyas*, dated 394, is published by Professor Dowson, in the *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, new series, Vol. I. p. 270. The era is undoubtedly the *Saka Kālī*. Here, besides the

mis-take as to the era, the learned Professor is led into a number of doubts and errors in regard to the correct genealogy of the Chálukyas from confounding the early Pulakesi, with his grandson Pulakesi the second, being respectively the father and the son of Kírttivarmá. I believe that the Wardack inscription is also dated in Saka Nripa Kála, and that the king Hasphani-Matega there mentioned is identical with Visvasphatíka of Wilson's Vishnu Purána (p. 179). In a copy of the Váyu Purána in my possession the name is spelt Visvaspháni, which is a Sanskritised modification of Hasphani. In a Jaina work, the abstract of the contents of which will be read at the next meeting, the following kings are mentioned as the successors of Vikrama, who is said to have reigned 60 years :—

1 Vikrama Charitra or Dharmáditya.. 40 years. 2 Bháilla  
...11 years. 3 Náilla.....14 years. 4 Náhada.....10 years.  
These are all new names.

## VII.

### *Merutunga's Therávali ; or Genealogical and Succession Tables, by Merutunga, a Jaina Pandit:*

MERUTUNGA is the name of a Jaina Scholar who flourished in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. I possess copies of four of his works, viz., 1, Prabandha Chintámani, of which Mr. Forbes has made good use in the Rás-Málá, or Annals of Gujarat ; 2, Mahápurushacharitra, containing an account of several very ancient Jaina Sádhus ; 3, Shad-darsana Vichára, containing a brief account of six schools of Philosophy, namely, Jaina, Bauddha, Sànkhyá, Jaiminíya, or Mímánsá, Aulukya or Kanáda, and Gautamiya ; 4, a Therávall, or genealogical and succession tables, being comments on some of the old Gáthás containing chronological and historical data. These works are all composed

in Sanskrit, but contain quotations in the Gáthá dialect. I have ten complete Patávalis by different Jaina Sūris or Pandits, and portions of others, but none of them comes up to that of Merutunga in historical interest. Merutunga composed the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, as stated at the end of the work, in Samvat 1367, i. e. A. C. 1423, at Vardhamānapura, or Vadvāna, in Káśīwād.

The following is the substance of the Patávali —

In the month of Kárttika, 15th of the dark half of the Moon, Śrī Vira's Nirvāṇa, or death took place. This is stated in the work Śrī Kalpa. An old Gáthá is quoted, stating that on the night when the Arhan Tirthankara Mahāvīra died, king Chanda Pradyota of Avantī (Málava) also died. His son Pálaka was inaugurated king of Avantī. Merutunga generally quotes Gáthás or verses in modified Māgadhi as authority for his dates and statements, and explains them in Sanskrit prose.

King Pálaka's reign lasted 60 years ; at that time, in Pátaliputra, Kūnika's son Udāyl, who was childless, was, whilst king, assassinated.\* Thereon Nanda, who was born of a barber prostitute (Gaviká), was inaugurated king after selection by the chief elephant, with five bright ornaments. It is related in the Pariśishta Parva (of Hemachandra), "from the Nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna-Svāmī (i. e. Vira), sixty years having passed, this Nanda became king, and nine Nandas followed one another in succession at Pátalipura, and their reign lasted 155 years," being after Vira 215 ; and it is stated in the Pariśishta Parva, that 155 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahā Vira, Chandragupta became king. This is, continues Merutunga, a subject for consideration ; be-

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\* Kaunika or Kūnika, was the son of Srenika, who is styled Bhambhāsāra, and is the same as the Bimbisāra, king of Rājagriha, of the Buddhists.

cause, according to the latter statement, there is a deficiency of 60 years, and it is opposed also to other books.

The reign of the Mauryas followed for 108 years. Chandragupta Maurya and others were established in Pátali-putra, by Chánakya, after expelling the ninth (Nanda), being after Vira 323 years. After the rule of the Mauryas, Pushpamitra reigned for 30 years.

Afterwards kings Balamitra and Bhánumitra ruled 60 years. They are different from the kings of the same name at Ujjayiní, who are stated in the Kalpachútri (a commentary on the Kalpasútra) to have expelled Kálikáchárya, the establisher of the 4th day Parva (ceremony). Afterwards, for 40 years, was the reign of Nabhováhana. He is in some places called king Naraváhana. This makes 453 years after Vira Nirvána. And in this year Sri Kálikáchárya, the uprooter of Garddabhilla, was honoured with the title of Súri. After Nabhováhana the rule of the Garddabhilla lasted 152 years, i. e., the rule of the Garddabhilla dynasty—a dynasty being named after the king most famous in it. After Nabhováhana, Garddabhilla ruled at Ujjayiní for 13 years, when Sri Kálikáchárya, on account of violence offered to his sister Sarasvatí, uprooted Garddabhilla, and established Saka kings in Ujjayiní. They ruled there for 4 years—thus making 17.

Garddabhilla's son Víkramáditya regained the kingdom of Ujjayiní, and having relieved the debt of the world by means of gold, commenced the Vikrama Samvat era. This (era) was established 512 years after Vira's era, commencing from Várshikadána year\* of Vira.

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\* The year of gifts, the one which precedes the establishment of a new era. The king is expected to spend enormous quantities of gold in charity for a whole year. Vira is stated to have done it 42 years before his death.

Vikrama's reign extended over.... . 60 years.

His son Vikramacharitra, alias Dharmá-

ditya, ruled for ..... 40 ,,

The next king, Bháilla, reigned for ..... 11 ,,

„ Náilla „ ..... 14 ,,

„ Náhada „ .... 10 ,,

---

135 years ;

in whose time the great temple of Śrī Mahāvīra, named Yaksha Vasati, was built on the top (horn) of Suvarṇagiri, near Jalaurapura, by a merchant of (99 lacs) great wealth. Add 17 to the 135 years after Vikrama, you get 152, as said (in a gáthá). The Vikrama Rája Rája Kála, dynastic year of Vikrama commenced 17 years after Nabhováhana ; the Vikrama era, or Rája Árambha, from the commencement of Vikrama's reign, or the 17th year of Vikrama Rája Kála, according to Merutunga. Therefore  $152 - 17 = 135$ , is the duration of the Vikrama Kála era. Jina Kála is the duration of the Jina Vīra era before the Vikrama Kála (era), being 470 years, the difference between Śrī Mahāvīra and Vikrama. How was the era of Śrī Vīra and Vikramáditya calculated ? Before the commencement of the reign of Vikrama, Śrī Vīra's Nirvána took place 470 years ; in other words, the reign of Vikrama commenced 470 years after Vīra Nirvána.

|                     |      |                  |     |
|---------------------|------|------------------|-----|
| Pálaka.....         | 60   | Vikramáditya..   | 60  |
| Nanda.....          | 115  | Dharmáditya      | 40  |
| Maurya ...          | 108  | Bháilla .. . . . | 11  |
| Pushpamitra .....   | 30   | Náilla . . . . . | 14  |
| Bala-mitra.....     | } 60 | Náhada .. . . .  | 10  |
| Bhānu-mitra.....    |      |                  |     |
| Nabhováhana... ..   | 40   |                  | 135 |
| Garddabhillā .. . . | 13   |                  | 470 |

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470 (sic.) Grand Total . 605

The Śaka era now commenced,—as the saying is, six hundred and five years after Vīra Nirvāṇa, commenced the Śaka era in Bhārata (India).

Merutunga then proceeds to give the dates of the Patta-pratishthā Kāla (inauguration to high office) of the various Sthaviras (Theros, or great priests).

From Śrī Vīra's Nirvāṇa :—

|                                 |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Sudharma Svāmi's accession..... | 20 years. |
| Jambu Svāmi's .....             | 44 „      |

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64

In the *Parīṣiṣṭa Parva* it is written, Jambu having lived sixty-four years after Vīra Nirvāṇa established in his own place, Prabhava of Kātyāyana Gotra, and obtained the indestructible place (died) by the extinction of action.

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Prabhava .....      | 11 |
| Sayyambhava .....   | 23 |
| Yasobhadra .....    | 50 |
| Sambhūtivijaya..... | 8  |
| Bhadra Bāhu .....   | 14 |

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170

Thus we have 170 years after Vīra Nirvāṇa. In the *Parīṣiṣṭa Parva* it is stated, that from the emancipation of Vīra 170 years having passed, Bhadrabāhu went to heaven by Samādhi.

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| Sthūlabhadra..... | 45 |
|-------------------|----|

i. e. 215 years from Vīra's Nirvāṇa.

|                      |    |
|----------------------|----|
| A'rya Mahāgiri ..... | 30 |
| A'rya Suhastī.....   | 46 |
| Guna Sundara .....   | 44 |

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335

At this time (Anunigoda Vyākhyātá) Kálíkáchárya flourished. The story of Indra having come to listen to Kálíkáchárya's discourses on minute organisms is briefly repeated. This Kálíkáchárya is the author of the Prajnyápanápánga Sūtra. In the original there is 140, evidently an error in copying, as in the next verse quoted in proof from the Parva 170 are given. He is the 23rd personage from Vira, including the 11 Ganadharas. In the Siddhánta he is called Śyámárya.

|                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| Kálíkáchárya .....  | 41 |
| Skandila Sūri ..... | 38 |

414

Merutunga then relates Viddha Sampradáya, i. e., old traditions. Sthúla Bhadra had two disciples, Árya Mahá-giri and Árya Suhastí.

Árya Mahágiri's Śákhá (branch) is the principal, and it is given in Sthavirávali as follows :—

Balissaha Sūri, Sáyí (Svátí,) Sámajjo (Śyámárya,) Sandilo (Śándilya,) Jiyadharo (Jita-dhara,) Ajjasamuddo (Árya-Samudra,) Mangù (Mangu,) Mandillo (Mandila,) Nágahatthi (Nága-hastí,) Reva i Sinho (Revatí-Sinha,) Khandalo (Skandila,) Himavam (Himavána,) Nágajjuno (Nágárjuna,) Govindo (Govinda,) Bhindinno (Bhùta-dinna,) Lohityo (Lauhitya,) Dusagani (Dushya-gani,) Devadhi (Devardhi.)

This Devardhi was the 27th person from Vira. He caused the Siddhántas to be written, that they may not be lost.

The second branch given in the Kalpa-sūtra is as follows :—

Ajja Suhatthi (Árya Suhastí,) Sutthiya (Susthita,) Inda-dinno, (Indradinna,) Ajadinno (Áryadinna,) Sinho-giri (Sinha-

giri,) Vaira Svāmī (Vajra Svāmī,) Sopārāga Vaira Sena (Saupāraka Vajra Sena.)

But in these branches Guṇa Sundara does not appear after A'rya Suhastī ; or Skandilāchārya after Śyāmārya—but Merutunga ventures to put them in, as he saw their names in sacred lists. The same applies to Revatī-mitra. Thirty-six years after Skandila was Revatī-mitra (after him was), A'rya Mangu 20 years, being 470 years from Vira Nirvāṇa. After 453 years (from Vira's Nirvāṇa) flourished Kālīka Sūri, the destroyer of Garddabhilla. (After him) A'ryadharmā 24 years. Some think Mangu and Dharmā are one and the same individual. According to them A'ryadharmā's period is 44 years.

Bhadrāgupta .....39 ; Śrīgupta .....15 ; Śrī Vajra .....36.

Being 584 years from Vira Nirvāṇa. Next Śrī A'rya-rakshita, 13 years. Puṣhpamitra, 20 years ; who accurately expounded the Sutrārtha. This makes 617 years from Vira. At this time, the Śaka Samvatsara commenced. (The copy is defective here, and the Gāthā quoted requires comparison.)

It is usual to meet with the following statement :—

Formerly, in the time of Chandragupta, a famine for 12 years having occurred, Utkiṣṭalabdhi (compositions of supreme knowledge) and a thousand of minor subjects (prakīrnaka) were destroyed (lost). Bahalassa, and Balisaha are identical persons. In the Sthavirāvall after A'rya, Mangu, A'ryadharmā, Bhadrāgupta, Vajra Svāmī, A'rya-rakshita, although produced in a different branch, are introduced, as they were then eminent or chief persons. Revatī Sinha Sūri is different from Brahmadvipaka Sinha. In the latter period of Vajra Svāmī, a famine of 12 years having occurred, the expounding of the Siddhānta was discontinued. Afterwards in the time of plenty, Skandilāchārya, having assembled the Sangha at Mathurā, recommenced the expounding of the Siddhāntas. And this is related (in gāthās) commencing with "Jesiēmo anuogo."

In the second branch, Susthita was the fifth of the 12 disciples of Ārya Suhastī. From him came Kotika Gana. And in the Kalpasūtra it is stated that Ārya Mahāgiri of Elāvātya Gotra had 8 disciples, from the Thero utara (1st) to Sadulaka alias Rohagupta (8th). From the last the branch Trairāsika was produced, as related in the Kalpasūtra.

In the Āvśyaka Sūtra, the time of the different Ninhavas or schisms is given.

The first schism (Jamāli Ninhava) took place on the 14th day of Vīra's obtaining Supreme knowledge.

2nd (Tishya Gupta).....after 16 years ; 3rd (Āvyakta). .... after 214 years ; 4th (Samuchhedika) . ... after 220 years ; 5th (Ganga) ..... after 228 years ; 6th (Rohagupta Trairāsika) after 544 years ; 7th (Gosthā Māhila)..... 584 years ; 8th (Digambara).....609 years.

If Sadulaka Rohagupta be the disciple of Ārya Mahāgiri, then how could 544 have elapsed from Vīra ? Ārya Mahāgiri was the disciple of Sthūla-bhadra, who flourished, as explained before, 245 years after Vīra's emancipation. The disciple (of Ārya Mahāgiri) could not therefore be placed in 544 after Vīra.

To remove this doubt, what has been heard by many is proof. In the same way after the 12 years' famine, Vajra Svāmi declared to his disciple Vajra Sena—When you get food of the value of a lak there would be plenty. So saying he sent him on his errand. He went to Sopārāga to a merchant named Jinadatta. His wife Iṣvari offered food of the value of a lak, without poisoning it.\* He declared to them that there would be plenty next day—and stayed with them in comfort. Afterwards he had Indra, Chandra, and Vidyādhara as disciples.

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\* The writer seems to suggest that the merchant's wife intended to give poisoned food to kill the famine-stricken people at once, to save them from inevitably prolonged suffering.

The Chandra Kula (succession) has, like a Ficus tree with a hundred branches, spread with glory to this day, regarding which there is a gáthá :—

“ Kodi gano gana me, Vaira Sáhá Sáhá me,  
Chanda Kulam Kulam me.”

“ Amongst Ganas in Koti-gana, amongst Śákhás is Vajra Śákhá, amongst Kulas is Chandra Kula.”

In the Bhrigu-Kshetra, A'rya Khaputácharya Siddha Sena Prabhávaka (flourished).

Also after Vajra Svámi was Vajra Sena ..... 33 years.

Nága-hastl ..... 69 „

Revatl-Mitra ..... 59 „

Brahma dvlpaka Sinha ..... 79 „

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239 (sic.)

Afterwards Skandila, Himavatsúri, and Nágáryjuna ... 78 years.

When twenty-two years passed out of these seventy-eight, the destruction of Valabhi (took place). And it is said “ Pana Sayarl Vāsasaim tinni Sayáim Aikame una Vikkama Kálá Utao Valahí bhango Samuppanno.”

Three hundred and seventy-five years having passed after Vikrama Kála, the destruction of Valabhi took place.

After Vikrama, Vajra Svámi flourished 114 years. After Vajra Svámi, Skandila flourished 239 years.

Twenty-two years after him was Valabhi bhanga (destruction), making altogether 375 years. In the same way, 510 years after Vikrama, and 980 years after Vira's death, Devardhi Ganí, caused Siddhántas to be written, and at that time, he has stated in the Sri Kalpa :—“ From the death of Śramana Bhagavána Mahávíra, 900 years having passed, in the 80th year of the tenth century the work was composed.”

Thirteen years after this the paryushanā parva was performed on the fourth day of the Moon (by Kālaka Sūri) ; and the same is stated in a gāthā (quoted).

In 1055 years (occurred) the death of Haribhadra Sūri, as stated in a gāthā (quoted.)

Next Jina-bhadra-kshamā Śramaṇa flourished 65 years.  
Next Pushpamitra 60 years, next Svāti Sūri 75 years.

Who established the fortnightly confession on the 14th of the Moon (gāthā quoted),

Pushpamitra is in some books placed after Svāti Sūri, but that is opposed to the gāthā (quoted). In the principal treatise (not mentioned, but containing the gāthā) it is stated that he obtained the title of Sūri, 1300 years after Vīra. But this stands in need of investigation by the well-informed, because it is there stated that after Svāti (Sūri) Sambhūtivijaya flourished. Fifty years Mādharma, Sambhūti-gupta 60 years, and Bappa Bhaṭṭa Sūri. But of this the best tradition is proof.

From Vīra's emancipation 1639 years and from Vikrama 1169 years, having passed, in (the city?) Śrī Vidyāpaksha Mukhyābhidhāna, Ārya Rakshita Sūri established the An-chala gaccha. Vīra's disciple was Srenika, his son Kūnika, his son Udāyi. After him in Pātaliputra the nine Nandas reigned. Chāṇakya having expelled them, established Chandragupta. His son was Bindusāra, his son Aśoka Śrī, his son Kuśāla the blind, his son Samprati-Rāja reigned in Ujjayinī. His descendant was Garddabhilla. His destroyer was Saka king. Garddabhilla's son Vikramāditya having expelled the Saka established himself there. He established the Samvatsara era 470 years after Vīra's Moksha (emancipation). Afterwards, in Samvat 821 Vaiśākha Śuddha 2, Monday, Śrī Vana-Rāja, of the Chaudā Vansa (Chaudā or Chowra dynasty) founded Śrī Anahillapura. He reigned 60 years. His son Yoga-Rāja, reigned 9 years. Next in Sam-

vat 891, Śrī Ratnāditya reigned 3 years. Next Vairī-Sinha ruled 11 years.

In Samvat 905, his son Kshema-rāja, succeeded and reigned 39 years.

In S. 944, Chāmunda-Rāja, his son, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

In S. 971, his son Thāghad, succeeded and reigned 27 years.

S. 998, his son Pūada, succeeded and reigned 19 years.

In this way 8 kings of the Chaudā dynasty reigned for 196 years.

S. 1017, Śrī Mūla-rāja (daughter's son), from the Chālukya race, succeeded and reigned 35 years.

1052, his son Vallabha-rāja succeeded and reigned 14 years.

1066, his brother Durlabha succeeded and reigned 12 years.

1078, his brother, Nānagila's son, Bhīma-deva, succeeded and reigned 42 years.

1120, his son Śrī Karna-deva, succeeded and reigned 30 years.

1150, his son Jayasinha-deva, succeeded and reigned 49 years.

1199, on Kārtika Śuddha 3, for three complete days interregnum (Pādukā-rājya) (reign of sandals).

In the same year, on Mārga-śirshya-suddha 4, Śrī Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvana-pāla, son of Deva-pāla, son of Kshema-rāja, son of Bhīma-deva, reigned till—

1229, Pausa, Śuddha 12, i. e. a reign of 30 years, one month and 7 days.

On the same day Ajaya-pāla, the son of Mahipāla, his brother, succeeded.

1232, Phālguna Śuddha 12, after three years and 2 months, Laghu Mūla-rāja succeeded.

1234, Chaitra Suddha 14, he completed two years, one month, and two days. On that day Bhīma-deva succeeded.

*End of the Therāvalī*

Then followed the Gajjanaka rule (of Mahmud of Ghizni) (a Gāthā is quoted). Next in Samvat 1300, Śrī Vīra Dhavalā's brother Śrī Viśāla-deva, succeeded.

1318 Arjuna-deva, 1331 Śāranga-deva, 1335 Laghu Karna, 1360 Mādhava, a Nāgara brahman brought the Yavanas.

Śrī Kumārapāla's minister Bāhada, in Samvat 1211, spent two crores, ninety-seven lacs (Rupees 2, 97, 00, 000) in constructing a stone temple

In Samvat 1371, on account of troubles from the Yavanas (Mahomedans) when the image of Jāvadi was lost, a new one was set up by Samarāka.

*Remarks.*

The names and dates given in the beginning of the Therāvalī are very important.

Mahāvīra (the great hero) is the last of the Jaina Tīrthankaras.

The Buddhists call Gautama, Mahāvīra, and mention Mahākāśyapa as his chief and eminent disciple. The Jains call Kāśyapa Mahāvīra, and Gautama his chief disciple (Ganadhara). Both Buddhists and Jains agree in making Mahāvīra the friend and spiritual teacher of a king of Rājagriha, the capital of Magadha or Behar, whose name was Śrenika or Bhambhāsāra according to the Jains, and Bimbisara according to the Buddhists. My remarks regarding these and subsequent kings I reserve for another paper, in which I propose to review the age of Buddha and the history of India before the Christian era, as the Jaina dates differ a good deal from those of the Buddhists and Brahmans.

The particulars of Udāyī's assassination are given by Hemachārya in the *Parishīṭa Parva*. A short but very important

statement in the *Therávali* is regarding the origin of the first Nanda. The Buddhist works hitherto published are silent regarding it. The *Purāṇas* mention him as of Śūdra extraction, but the Jaina account of his descent from a barber is similar, though not quite identical, with that given by Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius of the monarch who ruled at Pátaliputra when Alexander the Great invaded the Panjáb. This king was the predecessor of Chandragupta or Sandracottus of the Greeks.

In *Prākṛita* works, the *Sakas* or Scythians are called *Sagas*. It appears the *Vikrama Samvat* is coeval with the defeat of the *Sakas* by *Vikramāditya*, but the *Saka-nṛpa-kāla*, identical with the Śālivāhan era, is coeval with the conquest of Málava, and the Deccan by the *Sakas*. *Saka-Kāla*, or the era of the *Sakas*, has been confounded even by indigenous writers, sometimes with the first and sometimes with the second event, leading to a mistake of 135 years in their calculations.

A loose leaf of a *Patávali*, or succession table, found in the remnants of an old Jaina Library at Broach, after explaining briefly why *Kālikachārya* introduced the *Sakas*, how *Vikramāditya* expelled them, and established his own era, adds "one hundred and thirty-five years after *Vikrama* having passed, again the *Sakas* expelled *Vikrama-putra* (*Vikrama's* son or decendant) and conquered the kingdom."

The chronology of the *Chaudā* (*Chapotkata*) dynasty, commencing with *Vana-rāja*, differs from that in the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* and other lists, both in the order and number of the names of the kings, and the duration of their rule. This naturally raises the question whether the *Merutunga* of the *Therávali* is not different from the author of the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*.

The following is a comparative table from the *Prabandha*

Chintámawi, the Kumára-pála Prabandha of Jina Mandanoupādhyāya, and an anonymous Patāvali :—

|                              | Merutunga's<br>Prabandha<br>Chintámawi | Jinamandano<br>Upādhyāya's<br>Kumárapála<br>Prabandha,<br>written about<br>200 years ago | Patāvali<br>( ) |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Vana-rāja .....              | 60                                     | 60                                                                                       | 60              |
| Yoga-rāja .....              | 35                                     | 35                                                                                       | 32              |
| Kshema-rāja .....            | 25                                     | 25                                                                                       | 25              |
| Bhūyada .....                | 29                                     | 29*                                                                                      | 29              |
| Vairi Sinvha .....           | 25                                     | 25                                                                                       | 25              |
| Ratnāditya .....             | 15                                     | 15                                                                                       | 15              |
| Sámanta-sinha .....          | 7                                      | 7                                                                                        | 7               |
| Múla-rāja .....              | 55                                     | 55                                                                                       | 55              |
| Chámunda-rāja .....          | 13                                     | 13                                                                                       | 13              |
| Vallabha-rāja .....          | 6 months                               | 6 months                                                                                 | 6 months        |
| Durlabha-rāja .....          | 11'6                                   | 11'6                                                                                     | 11'6            |
| Bhíma-rāja or Bhíma-deva...  | * 42                                   | 42                                                                                       | 42              |
| Karna-deva .....             | Not given                              | 29                                                                                       | 29              |
| Jayasinha-deva .....         | { 49 through<br>fault of copy.         | Not Given                                                                                | 48'8'10         |
| Kumárapála .....             | 31                                     | 31                                                                                       | 30'8'27         |
| Ajaya-deva or Ajayapála ...  | 3                                      | .....                                                                                    | 3'11'28         |
| Múla-rāja .....              | 2                                      | .....                                                                                    | 2'1'24          |
| Bhíma-devarāja .....         | 63                                     | .....                                                                                    | 65'2'8          |
| Páduká-rāja (interregnum) .. | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | 6 days          |
| Tribhuvana-pála .....        | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | { 2 months      |
| Vísála-deva .....            | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | 12 days         |
| Arjuna-deva .....            | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | 18'7'11         |
| Séranga-deva .....           | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | 13'7'26         |
| Mlechha-rāja .....           | .....                                  | .....                                                                                    | 21'8'8          |
|                              |                                        |                                                                                          | .....           |

\* In one copy 52 and in the other as Múla.

## VIII.

*Notes on the Age and Works of Hemádri.*

ACCORDING to tradition among the learned, Hemádri was a Bráhmaṇ of the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá of the Śukla Yajur Veda. This is likely to be the truth, as in the Chaturvarga Chintámani, where he compares many texts from the Śrutis, Smritis, and Kalpasūtras, he mostly quotes those which relate to the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá. At the present day Bráhmaṇs of the Mádhyamdiníya Sákhá prevail in the district where Hemádri was born, viz., the Doulatabad district. Various treatises, professing to be the compositions of Hemádri are in my possession. They are :—

1 Chaturvarga Chintámani. 2 Muktsphala. 3 A commentary on Vagbhata called A'yur-veda-rasáyana.

The Chaturvarga Chintámani treats of the Dharma Śāstra, i. e. of A'chára (custom or practice), Vyavahára (civil and criminal law), Práyachitta (penance), Ishṭa (essential ceremonies), Pūrta (acts of pious liberality), and Adhyátma Vidyá (ontology.)

It is called Chaturvarga Chintámani. The subject of A'chára and of Ishṭa-pūrta-karma is minutely dwelt upon, and the subject of Vyavahára is treated of briefly and incidentally. My copy is not complete, nearly one-half being wanting.

Although it is evident from the writings of this author, as well as from those of others, that there were many treatises of this kind, for the correct interpretation of the Śrutis, Smritis, Purāṇas, &c., and although some of them are still extant, still it appears improbable that any of them could have come up to the works of Hemádri either in extent or depth of learning. The Chaturvarga Chintámani is not now met with in a complete form. The author divides it in five parts (khandas), viz., 1 Vrata-khanda, 2 Dána-khanda, 3 Tirtha-khanda, 4 Moksha-khanda, 5 Pariśesha-khanda. Of these I possess

the first three, and the remaining two are known to me only from being mentioned in the body of the work.

The copy of the *Vrata-khanda* is about 200 years old, but some of the final leaves are wanting.

The *Grantha Sankhyá*, or measure by 32 syllables is about 1200. It treats of the various ceremonials or religious observances to be observed in the various seasons, months and days. Although there are several special treatises on the *Vratas* (religious observances) there are many mentioned by Hemádri which are not found in the others. The authorities in support of the ceremonial observances are of course the *Puráṇas*, but Hemádri chiefly quotes the *Bhavishya-purána*.

The copy of the *Dána-khanda* is about three centuries old. The writing was finished in Samvat 1618, or A. C. 1561. It treats of charitable assignations or gifts, and the ceremonies which should accompany them. The authorities quoted are the *Puráṇas*, although sometimes the *Srutis* and *Smritis* are also quoted. The present popular treatises, *Dána Mayúkhá* and *Dána Chandriká* and others, do not contain many of the *Dánas* in Hemádri's treatise.

The *Tírtha-khanda* (relating to pilgrimages and holy places) has not been found ; neither is the *Moksha-khanda* (treating of emancipation) procurable.

The *Paríṣha-khanda* is larger than the *Vrata* and *Dána-khanda* put together. It is divided into *Sráddha-khanda*, *Kála-khanda*, and *Pratisháṣṭa-khanda*, but probably there are other parts, as there is a tradition that Hemádri has a treatise on the daily (*A'nhika*) ceremonies. A small treatise called *Práyaścitta* Hemádri is in my collection, but it is very doubtful, from the style, whether it is his composition.

*Chaturvarga Chintámani* is the name given to this Encyclopædic work, from its embracing the four subjects of *Dharma* (virtue), *Artha* (wealth), *Káma* (wish, pleasure), and *Moksha* (emancipation).

Hemádri is a well-known name amongst the learned, and stands much in their estimation as that of Mádhava, who both are regarded as two of the pillars of the Dharma-sāstra.

Mádhava's style is more elegant and refined than that of Hemádri.

To those who have studied the Pūrva-mimāṃsā of Jaimini, the understanding of Hemádri's works is not difficult, but without such aid many portions of the work cannot be properly made out. And as there are now-a-days few Sanskrit Scholars well read in Jaimini, the works of Hemádri also have necessarily fallen into comparative disuse and neglect.

The texts quoted are from the Mantras and Bráhmaṇas of the various Śákhás of the four Vedas—but especially from the Satapatha Śruti, or Bráhmaṇa.

Texts are quoted from the Bráhmaṇas of the Taittirīya Śákhá, and from the current Gopatha-bráhmaṇa of the A'tharvana Veda. Few or no treatises quote so many texts from the Kalpasútras, those from the Kátyáyana or Kátiya Sûtra of the Vájasaneyi Śákhá of the Sûkla Yajur Veda being most abundant. The Maitráyanīya Kátha Sûtra, Mánava Maitráyanīya Sûtra, Ap'astamba Sûtra, Baudháyana Sûtra, A'svaláyana Sûtra, Saunaka Sûtra Kupoláda Sûtra, Kauśika Pranīta Śráddha Kalpa Sûtra, Baijavāpa Grihya Sûtra, Saunaka Grihya Sûtra, Śánkháyana Grihya Sûtra, Chandoga Parisiṣṭa, Vájasaneyi Parisiṣṭa, Káṭhaka Grihya Parisiṣṭa, Ránáyaniya Sûtra, Pāraskara Grihya Sûtra, Pāraskara Sûtra, Kátyáyana Sûtra, Charakādhvaryu Sûtra, and other Sûtras of the four Vedas are quoted. The authors of the Sûtras are mostly indicated by the name of the Sûtra itself. The Ránáyaniya Sûtra is a Kalpa Sûtra of the Ránáyaniya Śákhá of the Sáma Veda, but comparatively the greatest are the Kauthumi and the Ránáyaniya Śákhás. The former prevails in Gujarat and the latter in Dravid-desa. The author of the Ránáyaniya Sûtra is stated in the work to be the sage

Gobhila. In the same way Kátyáyana is said to have been the author of the Chandoga Parisishṭa, and the author of the Charakádhvaryu Sūtra is Vatsa. The author exhibits greater acquaintance with the Maitráyanīya Sūtra, and it is also a fact that the Maitráyanī Brahmins are still to be found in the villages or towns in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād.

The Śaunaka, Paippalāda, and Kauśika Sūtras are of the Śákhās of the A'tharvāna Veda, and are comparatively scarce. Of the 9 Śákhās of this Veda, only the first two are to be found. The Látýáyana Dráhyáyana Kalpa Sūtras, although extant, are not met with in the quotations.

The Commentators on the Kalpa Sūtras, such as Deva-svāmi, Dhūrta Svāmi, Karko-pádhyāya, Jayanta-Svāmi, &c., are frequently quoted. To what province Deva Svāmi belonged cannot yet be made out. Deva Svāmi has a commentary on the Baudháyana Sūtra and the A'svaláyana Grihya Sūtra, but whether the same Deva Svāmi wrote both is by no means certain. The epithet Svāmi indicates the author to have been a native of the Carnatic.

Dhūrta Svāmi is a commentator on the A'pastamba Sūtra, is as learned, and probably as old, and a native of the same country as Deva Svāmi.

Karko-pádhyāya is the author of a splendid commentary on the Kátiya or Kátyáyana Sūtra, based on Jaiminīya pūrva Mimánsā. It has been published in Germany. Hemádri frequently quotes Karka, and often differs from him. He is sometimes called Bháshyakára.

Jayanta Svāmi is a commentator on the A'svaláyana Grihya Sūtra and has probably a commentary on the A'svaláyana Śrauta Sūtra.

The names of many Smritis and their authors are given in the Chaturvarga Chintámani. A large number of them are still extant, others are only known by their names.

Medhātithi, the commentator on Manu is frequently quoted. Medhātithi quotes Kumārila bhaṭṭa, and is therefore subsequent to him.

I possess a copy of Medhātithi, written about 300 years ago.

Aparārka is frequently quoted. He appears to have been a commentator on the Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, but none of his productions are available. He is quoted by the author of the Smṛiti Chandrikā.

Sankhadhara or Sankha Śrīdhara is frequently quoted, and as the Paṇḍits would say, is "broken" or proved in places to be in the wrong.

Viśvarūpa, Hari-hara, Vāma-deva, Govindo-pādhyāya, Trikaṇḍa Maṇḍana, Smṛiti-Mahārṇava Kṛta, Mādhava, and other authors are mentioned.

Viśvarūpa is a commentator on Yājñyavalkya's Smṛiti, and preceded Vijñāṇesvara, because the latter notices the commentary of Viśvarūpa, as being difficult. Viśvarūpa has written a commentary on the theological and speculative works of Sankara's school. He therefore must be placed after the first and great Sankarāchārya, and before Vijñāṇesvara.

Mādhava, it is scarcely necessary to add, is different from the learned brother of Śaṅkara and the liberal Minister of Bukka rājā.

The names of Smṛiti Mahārṇava, Smṛityārtha Śāra, Brihaspati Smṛiti Tikā, Hārta Smṛiti Bhāṣya, and other comparatively modern works occur. Of these, the second only is procurable.

Of the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas quoted, there are several not commonly known, such as the Kālottara (Upa-purāṇa) and Samāsa-saṁhitā. Although the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi treats of the subjects of A'chāra, Vyavahāra, Prāyaścitta, and Ishṭapurta Karma, the second subject is

very briefly treated. In the *Śrāddha-khanda* of the *Parīśha-khanda*, the words *Dāya*, *Riktha*, and *Samavibhāga* are explained ; the rights of possession of Brahmans and others, and the subject of *Strīdhana* is briefly treated. It is quite possible that there were parts of the *Parīśha-parva*, treating specially and more fully of these and allied subjects.

One fact, however, goes against this supposition. Modern authors do not quote Hemādri on *Vyavahāra* as frequently as on *Dharma Śāstra*.

Hemādri's Commentary on *Vāgbhāta* commences with salutation to Vishnu, and states that Hemādri, the author of the *Chaturvarga Chintāmanī*, has composed the Commentary on the *Ashtānga-hridaya* which is the name of *Vāgbhāta*'s medical treatise. After consulting, and in conformity with the opinions, of Charaka, Hārīta and Susruta, &c, Harichandra has commented on Charaka and Jaijjata on Susruta, and himself (Hemādri) on *Vāgbhāta*. The commentary is called *A'yurvedarasāyana*, and he adds that he is the Mantri, or minister of Rāma Rāja, in possession of *Śri-Karṇa* (the seal?). In this commentary are found the names Charaka, Susruta, Bheda, Hārīta, Sangraha-kāra, Khāraṇādī, Jaijjata, Bhattāraka, Harichandra, &c. Charaka, Susruta, and Bheda flourished long before *Vāgbhāta*, who mentions them.

Harichandra, the Commentator on Charaka, is mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, in his *Harsha-charita*, written in the 7th century of the Christian era, where he is called Bhattāra Harichandra, whilst Hemādri calls him Bhattāraka Harichandra. The works of Hārīta and Bheda are supposed to exist, but I have as yet failed in procuring them.

Hemādri is the author of a treatise called *Muktāphala*, in which extracts from the *Vāgbhāta*, bearing on the 9 rasas (sentiments), and for the support of Bhakti, or faith,

are taken. From the verses at the beginning and at the end, the treatise appears to have been composed after the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi, but at the end of each subject the words “iti Vopadeva Paṇḍita Virachite,” or “Paṇḍita Vopadeva Virachite,” or sometimes “Vopadeva Virachite,” are found, showing that Vopadeva was the author of the work. There is a tradition that Vopadeva was patronized by Hemādri, and that works actually composed by him, were out of compliment published as Hemādri’s.

A Vopadeva is the author of a treatise on grammar, called the Mugdha-bodha, and of a Dhātu-pāṭha, called Kavikalpa-druma, and of a medical treatise of a hundred verses. At the end of the grammatical treatise the following verse is found :—

॥ विश्वधनेश्वरश्चाज्ञो भिषक् क्षेत्रवर्धनः ॥

॥ वोपदेवश्चकारिदं विप्रो वेदपदाच्छदं ॥

“This grammer is composed by Vopadeva, a brahman, the disciple of the Paṇḍit Dhaneśvara and son of Vaidya Kesava.”

At the end is the expression “Vopadeva Gosvāmi Virachitam, Mugdha-bodha Vyākaranam Samāptam.” From the epithet “Gosvāmi,” and the fact of the grammer being extensively adopted in Bengal, it appears that this Vopadeva was a Bengal Brahman, different from the one at the Court of Hemādri. At the end of the hundred verse medical treatise, of which I possess a very corrupt copy, there is a verse, full of clerical errors, from which it may be gleaned that Vopadeva flourished at Sārtha (?), where a thousand Brahmans lived, and that he was the son of Dhaneśa Kesava. Dhaneśa and Kesava appear from the Kavikalpadruma to have been different persons.

There is a commentary on Bhāskarāchārya’s Lilāvati by Vopadeva, the son of Bhīma deva.

This is probably the Vopadeva who flourished at the Court of Hemādri, differing from the author of the Mugdha-bodha.

The verses at the commencement of the Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi are full of exaggerated praise of Hemādri's learning, and especially his liberality, and it is clear these could not have been composed by himself.

There is a tradition also that a Paṇḍit named Vopadeva was the real author of the most popular of the Purāṇas, the Bhāgavata. If there was such a Vopadeva, he must have flourished before the time of Hemādri, because in the Vrata, Dāna, and Kāla Khandas, verses are quoted from the Bhāgavata, and the Bhāgavata itself is recommended in the chapter on gifts to be offered as a gift. That the Bhāgavata so recommended was the Vaishṇava Bhāgavata, and not the Devī Bhāgavata, appears from the fact of its Grantha Sankhyā being mentioned as 18,000. The day on which it should be given is Bhādrapada Pūrṇimā, which is the day also recommended in the Vaishṇava Bhāgavata. There is also a tradition that a commentary by Hemādri on a commentary of the Bhāgavata is extant

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V. 1839, pages 178—188, there are two copper-plate grants published by Mr. Wathen, dated Śaka 1212 (A. C. 1291) and Śaka 1194 (A. C. 1273). They contain the following facts. In the renowned Yadu race was Rājā Bhillum, After his death Jaitra-pāla succeeded. To him his son Singhana succeeded. Next came Krishna, next his younger brother Mahadeva. He was succeeded by Rāmachandra-Deva, the son of Rājā Krishna. This Rāmachandra or Rāmadeva defeated the kings of Telingana, Gurjar, and Mālava. Rāya Nārāyaṇa, Rāya Pitāmaha, Dvārāvati parivṛidha, were his titles. His minister was Hemādri (Journal R. A. Society, Vol. V. p. 186.) This is the Rāmadeva Jādava of Devagiri, who succumbed to the power of the Mahomedans.

Whilst Hemádri was minister, there flourished Achyuta Náyaka, the son of Mudhugi, descended from Jallana of Gautama Gotra and of the Sarvlya family title. He had the titles *Mandalika Pittámaha*, *Mandalika Bhára Sankhara*, *Mandalika Dhádi tadaka*, *Paschiráya Vibháda*, and was a contemporary of Rámachandra. He gave a village of the name of *Vaulá*. In an inscription on a stone slab at Patan at Chálisgam, published by me in the Journal Royal Asiatic Society 1864, the Yádava Rájás Bhillum, Jaitrapála, and Singhana are mentioned, and the date of that inscription (Śaka 1128 or A. C. 1206) is perfectly compatible with that of the copper-plate grants.

At the commencement of the *Vrata-khanda*, the genealogy of kings given by Hemádri is as follows :—In the Yadu race, descended from the Soma Vansa (lunar race) was Rájá Bhillum, from him was Jaitra-pála, next was Singhana deva, next was Jaigáki (Jaitra-pála). He had two sons, Krishna and Mahádeva. In the reign of Mahádeva, Hemádri, whilst a minister, was in possession of all the regal powers? The capital was Devagiri in Setunn-desa, which I suppose was the ancient name of the Daulatabád district. He gives his own genealogy as follows :—

In the Vatsa-gotra (Vatsa family) Vāsudeva, a very learned Brahman, was born, from him was Káma deva, from him was Hemádri Sūri.

The genealogy given in the *Parishesha-khanda* is as follows :—Singhana, Jaitra-pála, Mahádeva.

His own genealogy—Vámana, from him Vāsudeva, from him was Kámadeva, and from him was Hemádri.

Hemádri flourished at the end of the twelfth and commencement of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

## IX.

*Note on Mukunda-Rāja, the oldest Maráthi Author.*

MUKUNDA-RA'JA is the author of three works : Viveka-Sindhu, Paramámrita, and Múlasthanba. Of these the first two are on the unity of life, a metaphysical Pantheistic work, the last is a description and praise of Śiva.

Mukunda-rāja has given the succession of his gurus, in the latter part of the Viveka-Sindhu, in the 11th chapter, from the 34th to 45th or concluding verse ; Aśṛīnātha, Harinātha, Raghunātha.

Harinātha was born in Ambānagar, on the banks of the Bāna-gangā. This appears to be Jogaichē Ambē on the Bāna-gangā, a tributary of the Godāvarī. He was a brahman of the Mādhyamādiya Śākhā, the family title was Champē-gorata. His father got him to study the Vedas and Śāstras. When 12 years old, having observed the great Pāvupata or Śiva rites he propitiated Śiva. He propitiated Dattātreya, Munisvara and Guru Sankara on the banks of the Gautamī (Godavarī). At the time of a sacrifice (Homa) he saw, says Mukundarāja, Śiva himself. He had the blessing from Śiva that whoever received his instructions and moral advice would be a dhyāni. His disciples were many, such as Surendra-bhāratī. At the head of them was Rāmachandra. He instructed many disciples, amongst others Mukundarāja.

In the Viveka-Sindhu Mukunda supports the belief of the identity of souls with the divine soul. He often refers to the Śākhya philosophical doctrines ; the Bhāgavata Gītā is mentioned in many places, and the ten principal Upanishads are sometimes quoted. Maráthi words, now only met with in particular parts of Mahārāshtra, occur, such as Vachava (may go), an expression now used in Goa and its neighbourhood only. He practised Rāja-Yoga.

About the middle of the Viveka-Sindhu, is the following in ovi metre :—

॥ कर्हिहावा बहाव तावा कुमार जेतया ॥

॥ तेवे करविहा हा रोव पंवरचनेवा ॥

Of Nṛisinha was Ballála, his son was Jaita-pála, he caused this kind of treatise to be composed. The Ballála here mentioned is undoubtedly the same as Bhillam, and Jaita-pála the same as Jaitra-pála.

Various stories regarding Mukunda-rāja and Jaitra-pála-rāja are current. Mukunda-rāja flourished about the end of the 12th century of the Christian era.

I have made unceasing efforts to discover works in Marathi, or even stray poetic pieces, older than the works of Mukunda-Rāja, but without success.

## X.

*Transcript and Translation of an Inscription discovered by Mr. G. W. TERRY in the temple of A'mra-Nātha, near Kalyāna ; with Remarks.*

### *Transcript.*

१. यकलम्ब ७८२ जेठ शुभ ८ शुभे स्वमिगतायेन मत्त बहावत्त  
महाजंठवेकरादि मट्टिरिपुईल्लवहनहाजीदर
२. वरधागतपञ्चपंजरीलाहिलवसाराजापडिबिराजमानमहावत्तुहेवर श्री  
महाज्वागिराजदेवः एतत्स्ववसजात्प्रवितामव
३. वल्लवममहावात्त श्रीमिगपवसावा महाप्रजनः श्रीमानचैवसावाडे-  
ववन्निविद्यहिक् श्रीपंकरवसावा महावांविमिद्यहिक् श्रीजान
४. कैवसावा भावकुमार प्रचव स्वमिगिन महादेव सावा द्वितीय वन-  
भादुहेवादिप्रवा-श्रीकरवादिहितकलाचविजवराजवत्तुहेवर

१. महाराजगुरुवाधाह्वराजगुरुशीनिकल्लिहभक्तवाधापिठवक्त्रकाहार्न  
त श्रीला—नरा—शैकारापलेनपूत्वा श्रीवाज्जनाजदेवकु  
२. सं—पाव च — —पमानकुहार तथा उदय्या महानकुलेवर  
कनकिसराजदेवका भवनं संवादितं

*Translation.*

In Saka Samvat 782 (A. C. 860), the ninth day of the bright half, of the month Jyaishta, Friday, (during the reign of) the Mahāmandalesvara Śrī Mahamvānirājadeva, who has obtained the title of Mahāmandalesvara, (also) the five great insignia of Royalty, &c., who is a Dāmpdara (Vishnu) in punishing his enemies the Daityas, a cage of adamant to those seeking his protection, &c., and resplendent amongst the row of rājās, whose various officers were the large-minded Mahāmātya (Chief Minister), Śrī Vigapaya, also Mahāptajana (the chief relative), Śrī Nāganaiya, also Lekha-Sandhi-Vigrahika (Secretary), Śrī Veka-reya, also Mahā-Sandhi-Vigrahika Śrī Jāgalaiya, also Bhāṇḍāgāra prathama (Chief Treasurer), Sapamisena, also the Second (Treasurer) Mahādevaya, also Khamabhāileya and other ministers. Whilst under their auspices the administration of the kingdom was successful and beneficent, there flourished Śrī Mahārāja Guru, also Śrī Bhallagha Rāja Guru, and also Śrī Vikalla-Sida-Bhasmaka (three letters lost) and they, at the desire of Mahā Sāmanta Śrī, having undertaken the construction, the temple of Śrī A'mra-Nātha (two letters lost) was restored in stone. The house of Mahāmandalesvara of Udanyā? Samachhitta Rāja Deva was (also) constructed.

*Remarks.*

The temple of A'mra-Nātha is situated about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  miles south-east of Kalyāna. It has lately been well described by Mr. Burgess, a learned member of our Society, in the *Times of India*.

I have taken notes of the temple myself, but as I am engaged in a more important work, I regret I must put off presenting the Society with my own description of the temple and its mythological remains. I shall only make a few remarks on the inscription which was discovered in the temple by Mr. G. W. Terry. I have examined the original, and copied from it, and I have also consulted an excellent Plaster of Paris cast of it taken by Mr. Terry. The inscription is 3 feet and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. It consists of six lines, written in Sanskrit, in Saka Samvat 782, i. e. A. C. 860.

The inscription clearly shows that the correct name of the temple, or rather of the Linga worshipped in it, is A'mra-Nátha, evidently derived from A'mra, a mango. There is a mango tree near the ruined temple, and large topes of mango trees at the neighbouring village about a mile distant.

From the expression in the inscription "the temple of A'mra-Nátha was restored in stone," it appears that an older temple existed on the spot. The correctness of this inference is borne out by the fact that several stones in the body of the dome of the temple have been discovered by Mr. Terry with old Devanāgarī letters, forming portions of an older inscription. They are insufficient to enable me to make out anything from them. The form of the letters, however, shows that they are about a century older than the present inscription.

The king Mahāmandalesvara Mahamvāsi-rāja-deva appears to me to have been of the Yádava family, from a comparison of his titles with those of a Yádava prince, a copy of whose copper-plate grant, found in Bassein, dated Saka 991, is in my possession. The names of the minister, &c. of both end also in aiya.

The place Udanyá, indicated in the inscription, was very likely a Mahāla called Oudani, or some similar name.

## XI.

*Brief Notes on Hemachandra or Hemachárya.*

THE materials for a life of Hemachárya may be gleaned from the Kumára-pála-charitra, Kumára-pála-prabandha, Prabandha-chintāmani, Rishi-maṇḍala-vr̥tti of Jina Bhadra Sūri and other Jaina works.

The Kumára-pála-prabandha contains the greatest amount of information, sufficient for a volume, but I shall content myself on the occasion with a brief *résumé*.

In the town of Dhunduka, amongst the Modha Vanias, there was a *Śreshṭhī* (Seth or merchant) called Cháchiga, whose wife was named Cháhini, or Páhini.<sup>4</sup> She gave birth to a son on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A. C. 1088), when a heavenly voice proclaimed that this prodigy would be a promoter of the Jaina religion, like Jina himself. The father, after celebrating the child's birth with great rejoicings, named him Chángadeva. When the child was five years old, a Jaina Paṇḍit (Devendra) arrived with his congregation at the house of Cháchiga, who happened to be absent. His wife Páhini, however, performed all the duties of hospitality to the Sangha or congregation, which requested her to devote her son to the religious order of ascetics or Yatis. She was placed in great difficulty and distress. If she were to consent to the proposal, the father of the child was not at hand : to refuse would have been an insult to the Sangha. After mature consideration, she resolved to offer the child, and placed her son Chángadeva at the feet of the Guru Devendra Sūri. The child, on being questioned, consented to accept Dīkshá, or orders. He was taken to various places of pilgrimage, and lastly to Karnaṇvatī. There Devendra placed Chángadeva at the house of Udayana Mantri.

Cháchiga, the father, on returning home heard of the destination of his son, and resolved to eat nothing till he

saw his child. He came to Devendra Sūri at Karaśvatī. Hearing the Guru's religious discourse he became delighted, and afterwards ate at the house of Udayana Mantri. Udayana having placed Chāṅgadeva on the thigh of Chāchiga, gave him presents of three cloths and three lacs of money. Chāchiga, filled with delight, exclaimed—"You have offered three lacs, and it is worthy of your liberality. Your unparalleled faith is the highest reward for my child, and on this account the son is offered without any recompense. Udayana was pleased, and declared that if the child were offered to the Guru he would attain a position highly revered. "Do what thou thinkest best," said Udayana. Chāchiga consented, and the child was handed over to Devendra, who passed a eulogy on Chāchiga, and initiated Chāṅgadeva at once into the mendicant order.

On this occasion Udayana Mantri held a grand festival, and gave the child the title of Somadeva Muṇi.

The *Sreshthī* (merchant) on hearing this, caused a heap of coals to be handled by the child, and it all turned into gold, the guardian spirit having disappeared at the same time. The Sangha (congregation) as well as the merchant were filled with surprise, and ever since Somadeva was styled Hemachandra, Hema signifying gold.

I have no doubt this story is, like many others, an after invention of the Jaina priests, to account for the change of name from Somadeva to Hemachandra. Stories founded on fanciful interpretations of the words or roots composing a name are very common in Jaina works. Hemachandra was highly honoured at the court of Siddha Rāja and Kumārapāla, the Solanki or Chālukya king of Anahila-pura Pattan in Gujarat. Kumārapāla in particular was proud to consider himself his humble and obedient disciple. By the advice of Hemachandra, Kumārapāla encouraged Jainism, and ordered his subjects to abstain from the destruction of animal life, and from the use of meat as food.

He constructed 1,400 Viháras. Hemachandra thoroughly understood the art of pleasing his patron king. Whilst he steadily kept in view the promotion of Jaina doctrines, he was politic enough to yield on many occasions to the prejudices of the king, or of persons of the Brahmanical faith, having great influence with the king and people. Hemachandra is the author of a variety of standard works, as *Dhátupáráyana*, *Siddha-haima-sabdánusásana*, *Prakrita-sabdánusásana*, *Dvyá-sraya-kávyá*, *Abhidhána-chintámani* with gloss, *Anekártha-náma-málá* with gloss, *Deśi-náma-málá* with gloss, *Trishashti-saláká*, *Purusha-charita*, *Parisishṭa-parva*, *Adhyátmopanishat* with commentary, *Chhandánusásana*, *Alankára-chūdámāṇí*, and two or three others in Sanskrit and Prákrita. My learned friend Dr. Buhler has a copy of a *Nirghantú* by Hemachárya, where the characters of the various vegetable articles of the *Materia Medica* are better described than in other *Nirghantús*.

The Jainas may justly boast of a long list of learned and pious hierarchs. Yet in this galaxy of names Hemachandra may truly be said to shine as the most brilliant star. In the *Kumára-pála-prabandha*, *Kumára-pála-charitra*, *Rishi-maṇḍala-vritti* and *Prabandha-chintámani*, there are long stories given regarding Kumára-pála and Hemachandra. Many of these are gross exaggerations, and incredible. Leaving them aside, I have given a brief outline of such as appear to be worthy of credibility.

Hemachandra was born on the full moon of Kártika, Samvat 1145 (A.C. 1088). In Samvat 1154 (A. C. 1097) he was initiated into the priestly orders ; in 1166 (A. C. 1109) he obtained the degree or title of Sûri, and died in Samvat 1229 (A. C. 1172), at the age of 84.

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## XII.

*Brief Notes on Mádhaba and Sáyana.*

MA'DHAVA AND SA'YANA are now best known to European scholars as the authors of the learned commentary on the *Rig-veda*, of which Max Müller has published a magnificent edition. Mádhaba Mádhavárya, Mádhaváchárya, or Mádhavámátya, are the names of an illustrious scholar who flourished in the fourteenth century of the Christian era at Vijayanagara (recently Golconda) on the banks of the Tungabhadra in the Carnatic desa. In this city Sri Bukka rája of the Yadu-vansa, reigned. Mádhaba was the rája's minister, and accordingly he sometimes styles himself Mádhavámátya. Mádhaba also was the rája's Kula-guru, or family preceptor, and on this as well as on account of his great learning he is called Mádhaváchárya, or Mádhavárya. There are many works professing to be his compositions. Some of these were written with the assistance of his younger brother Sáyana. The Bháshya (commentary) on the *Rig-veda*, on the *Aitareya-bráhmaṇa*, and on the *Taittiriya Sanhitá*, were joint productions with Sáyana. All these are styled by Mádhaba *Vedárthaprakáśa*. At the end of each *adhyáya* (chapter) of the *Bháshya* of the *Sanhitás* the expression occurs "iti Sáyanáchárya Virachite Mádhave Vedárthaprakáśe," i. e., "the end of the chapter of the *Vedárthaprakáśa* (commentary) of Mádhaba, composed by Sáyanáchárya." With the exception of the *Bháshya* of the *Aitareya-bráhmaṇa*, all the other above-mentioned *Bháshyas* or commentaries, are published.

The word *Sáyana* is spelt by the Calcutta *Pandits* with a soft *n*, whilst Max Müller spells it with a hard *n*, with which *Sáyana's* countrymen would agree.

Mádhaba has a *tíká* or commentary on the *Parásara Smṛiti*, the chief guide in the Kali age in regard to the *Dharma Sástra*. It is superior to that of Nanda *Pandit*.

A work named *Jaimīniya-nyāya-ratnādhikaraṇa-mālā* is also a production of Mādhava, with a commentary by himself to facilitate the understanding of the *Jaimīniya-pūrva-mīmāṃsa*.

Similarly another work on the *Uttara-mīmāṃsā*, with a commentary, has been styled *Vedāntādhikaraṇa-ratna-mālā*. This follows the order of the *Vyāsa-sūtra*.

Mādhava in his style is at once learned and deep, yet simple and pleasing. Mādhava's *Śankara-vijaya* in praise of the success or glory of the great Śankarācārya, is an excellent poetical composition, although it is unsafe as a truthful biography. The work is called *Śankara-vijaya-dindini*. In it Mādhava calls himself *Abhinava Kālidāsa*, or the new Kālidāsa, a title not undeserved.

Mādhava's "*Kāla Mādhava*" is a treatise for the calculations of the *Hindu Calendar*.

A'cārya Mādhava relates the practices of Brahmins.

*Vyavahāra Mādhava* treats of Law. *Dhātuvṛtti* is a large treatise relating to grammar, but I do not possess a copy, and cannot say which Mādhava is the author of it. Bhattoji Dixita and other modern authors quote Mādhava in the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* as authority, sometimes also for expressing their dissent. These quotations are in all likelihood from the author of the *Dhātuvṛtti*. Mādhava has composed also the *Sarva-darśana-sangraha*, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

In this he clearly enunciates the opinions held by the various sects of Hindu philosophers.

In all his works he gives some information regarding himself. In the beginning of the commentary on the *Parāśara Smṛiti*, after praising Bukka or Bukkana rājā, and stating that he was his mantri or minister, he gives Śrīmātī as his mother's name, and Māyana as his father's, and also states that Sāyana and Bhogaṇātha were his uterine brothers. He further adds that he was of the Yajursha Śākha, Baudh-

háyana Sûtra and of the Bháradvája Gotra. The information is not so minute in the other works, but at the end of each chapter occurs the following long sentence :—

इति श्रीराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरनारंगवर्तकश्रीश्रीदुर्गराजस्वामिवाक्येन  
जायन्तानात्मेन विरचिते वेदायप्रकाशे ।

From this it appears that this commentary was his own production, unassisted by Sáyana. Kála Mádhava, A'chára Mádhava, and Vyavahára Mádhava do not mention Sáyana's name, and are therefore the sole productions of Mádhava. I have an independent work by Sáyana, called Yajnya-tantra-sudhá-nidhi.

In the beginning of the Sarva-darsana-sangraha, in the little information that Mádhava gives regarding himself, he tells us that his preceptor was Sarvajnya Vishnu, and qualifies himself Sáyana Mádhava, from which it is evident that the production was a joint one with Sáyana.

From the Kála Mádhava and other treatises, Mádhava's guru (preceptor) appears also to have been called Vidyá-tírtha, or Bháratí-tírtha.

The following is an abstract of an account of Mádhava contained in the copper-plate grant published in the Journal of this Society No. III. of 1852, p. 107.

On the banks of the Tungabhadra, in the Carnatic Desa, is the shrine of Virûpáksha (now called Hampi-Virûpáksha). Near it was Vijaya, the capital. In it reigned a Yádava king named Sri Sangama, after him was Sri Bukka rāja ; his son was Harihara. By order of Harihara, the minister Mádhava was ruling at Jayantipura. He besieged the city of Goa in the Conkan, and drove away the Turushkas (Turks or Mahomedans), and re-established the images of Saptanátha (now called Sapta Kotiavara), and after Mádhava's death Harihara appointed Narahari Mantri in Goa as ruler of Jayantipura. This account as made out by me

differs to some extent from that given in the Journal, the translation there given being erroneous in many places.

In Śaka 1313 (A. C. 1381) in the year Prajāpati, in the month of Vaiśākha, on the wane of the moon, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Mahāmantriśvara (the chief of the great ministers), Upaniṣan Mārgapravartakāchārya (the establisher of the ways of the Upanishads), Śrīman Madhavarāja gave the village of Kuchara, after naming it Mādhavapura, to twenty-four Brahmans.

I possess a copy of a copper-plate grant sent to me by a paṇḍit from Goa, *where in* a short eulogium Vīra Harihara is styled the Lord of the East, South, and West of India.

In his reign, in Goa, Mādhava the chief of ministers, the guide (mantri or āchārya) of the ways of the Vedas and Upanishads, a faithful observer of Śrauta and Smārta religious law, of Bhāradvāja Gotra, the son of Dvivedi Chaundibhatta, the establisher of the linga of Saptanāthā, granted lands publicly in the name of his mother Māchāmbikā. The village was called Mānchalāpura, "a town of Brahmans." Lands and houses for Brahmans were created, and the flowing stream was called Mādhava Tīrtha. The names of the father and mother differ from those given in Parāśara Mādhava, and I have grave doubts about the real existence or genuineness of the copper-plate.

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### XIII.

#### *Report on Photographic Copies of Inscriptions in Dhārwar and Mysore.*

MANY of the inscriptions are in Canarese, and are difficult to be deciphered. The letters are in places doubtful, and there is reason to believe that before being photographed they were filled in with lime or chalk. Interference of this

kind often leads to incorrectness in the copy. The old Canarese language, as well as the Canarese alphabet, has undergone a change, and it is only with the assistance of good Canarese scholars, who have read and studied the old Canarese works, that the inscriptions can be properly deciphered. I have not yet been able to find a person competent to assist me in this department, and my own knowledge is too imperfect to be of service. Some of the inscriptions in the volume are as old as the sixth century of the Christian era ; the later ones, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, are, I believe, inscriptions on tombstones or memorials of the dead, whilst the older ones are engraved mostly in caves and temples, and relate to their construction, or to gifts or endowments in connection with them.

The older inscriptions are written in the Canarese language mixed with many Sanskrit words, and they generally contain at the beginning a brief account of the contemporary king, and also one or two verses in praise of Śiva. The Sanskrit parts of the inscriptions have been read with confidence.

*Inscription* No. 1.—“ Iwullee, Inscribed Stone at the Sivite Temple.”

Relates to a grant : was in all likelihood written at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, and mentions the king Avanāditya, of the Sinda Vansa. This race is a minor one, and has not been met with elsewhere.

The beginning of this inscription is in Canarese, largely mixed with Sanskrit.

No. 2.—“ Iwullee, Inscription on the Gateway of the Town.”

This inscription is a short one of the eighth century, and on the wall of a temple ; though in the volume it is incorrectly described as being on the gateway of the town.

The two first lines can be deciphered ; they contain the

name of the Chálukya king Satyáraya Śrī Prithivī Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja.

No. 3.—Iwullee, In a Śivite Temple."

This inscription is the oldest of all, being dated in Śaka 506 (Śatampancha śateścha), A. D. 584, and the year of the Kali Yuga 3855, and from the war of the Mahābhārata 3730, thus showing that the war of the Mahābhārata was then regarded as having taken place one hundred and twenty-five years after the commencement of the Kali Yuga. It is clear that enough of confusion existed in Indian chronology even at this early date.

The entire inscription is in Sanskrit verse, and was written in the time of the Chálukya, Pulakeśi II., the contemporary of Hiouen Tshang. In some places the letters in the photograph are indistinct and doubtful, but these have been mostly made out from the context. The inscription, besides giving even a better description of the older Chálukya kings of the Dekkan than has hitherto been published, contains two important names, those of the celebrated poets Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, whose fame in this world is compared with that of Ravikīrti, the author of the verses in this inscription, who was very probably a Digambara-Jaina. The fact is now placed beyond doubt that Kālidāsa and Bhāravi had achieved fame in India before the end of the sixth century of the Christian era. I have fully discussed the age and works of Kālidāsa in my "Essay on Kālidāsa," published in the Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society in 1861.

No. 4.—"Iwullee, Buddhist Stone on the top of the Hill."

This is an inscription of two lines on the pedestal of a Digambara-Jaina image of Mahāvīra ; the symbol below the image is indistinctly seen to represent a lion. The carved image does not appear to be very old, the inscription being of the thirteenth century. It states that Rāma Setti (merchant) of Mūla Sangha Balātkhāra-gaṇa caused a "Ni-

sidi" (house of rest) to be constructed. Káshta Múla Mayúra and Gopya Sanghas (congregations) are at present known amongst the Digambara-Jainas, and I find the word "Nisidi" used in an inscription in the Udayagiri Caves, Orissa, for a "house of rest."

No. 5.—"Iwullee, Inscribed Rock on the Bank of the River."

This inscription is in old Canarese characters, and in the Canarese language ; it is probably of the fourteenth century. The first line is a moral maxim in Sanskrit :—

"The gift of one's own wealth is meritorious, as is also the preservation of the wealth of others. The destroyers of the wealth of others have their own reduced to nought."

No. 6.—Iwullee, Inscription on a Pillar of the Šivite Temple."

This inscription, which is in Canarese, is of the seventh century. It contains the names of Vadi Ganda, Dámela Ganda, and Aditya, the son of Hata Deva. They were in all likelihood Pásupatas, as the A'cháryas of the Pásupatas are called Gandas. (The word Ganda is not found in Professor Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.)

No. 7.—"Iwullee" (same as No. 6).

Is a Sanskrit verse written about the seventh century of the Christian era :—

"Peace. No man so skilful in the construction of houses and temples as Marsobha lived, or ever will live, in Jambudvípa."

He was, I believe, the great architect who designed and superintended the construction of many of the temples and important buildings of his time. His name deserves to be commemorated.

No. 8.—"Iwullee, Inscription in a dark vault of the Temple."

This inscription is in Sanskrit, mixed with Canarese —

"Peace. From the Śaka Kála. eight centuries and eleven

years having passed (i. e. A. D. 789), in the Prajāpati year, in the capital of Sakunta (King), this house for Yogis was constructed by Muni Bhattāraka (chief of Munis or ascetics), named Guhi." The remainder is not clear.

No. 9.—"Inscribed Stone" (locality unknown).

This inscription contains eighty-one lines. The first line is obliterated. The language is mixed Sanskrit and Canarese. It commences with the prayer that the kingdom of Sri Prithvi Vallabha, Mahārājādhirāja-Paramesvara, Parama Bhattāraka, Satyāsraya Kulatilaka, Chálukya-bharana, Srīmat Tribhuvana (Malla) may ever continue to increase. The inscription is incomplete, in most places from pillars or other objects intervening between the ends of the lines and the camera when the photograph was taken. This is the Chálukya king who flourished in Saka 1104, i. e. A. D. 1182 (see Mr W. Elliott's List of the Chálukyas, also Thomas's Prinsep, Vol. II. page 277) Subordinate to Tribhuvana Malla was Mahāmandalesvara Mayūravarma Mahāmahiśāla, with the five great titles (Lord of the city of) Vanavāsī, favoured by the god Dhūkeśvara (some linga probably in Vanavāsī), &c. The connection of this king with the next cannot be clearly made out. Tailam-deva, of the Kadamba dynasty, is next mentioned, with many titles. His name is spelt Tailapa and again Tailam-deva. The name of Nāmala-devī, perhaps the queen of Tailama, can next be made out, also the name of a Kadamba king, styled variously, Kāma Nripa, Kāma Bhūmipa, and Kāma-bhūmīśvara. Ketala-devī appears to have been his queen. Both are highly lauded. Next appears Munipati Nāgachandra, probably a Jaina hierarch. In the fifty-fifth line is the expression "Ketala Devīya Jaina Mandiram," which shows that a Jaina temple was constructed by Ketala-devī, the queen of Kāma-deva. The context also shows that at the suggestion of Nāgachandra the temple was dedicated to A dinātha, the first of the Jaina Tirthankaras. The image of

A *dinátha* was placed in it. A village was granted in *Inám* to *Nandisvara*, *Bhattáraka*. In connection with the titles and praise of *Káma Bhumiśvara*, the names of the *Vanavási* and *Kuntala* countries frequently occur ; also the name of a city, *Sri Galakápura* or *Galápura*.

*Vanavási* was the capital of the *Kadambas* : it was visited by *Hiouen Thsang*. *Kuntala* is a portion of *Maháráshtra* : its limits deserve to be carefully noted.

No. 10.—“*Badámi*, Buddhist Cave and Inscription.”

On the side of a cave in *Badámi* are small inscriptions containing about ten names, two of which cannot be well made out :—

(1) *Chivarika*. (2) *Sri Vimimmana*. (3) *Sri Kuda Svámi*. (4) *Sri Da.....or Va.* . . (5) *Sri Danadeva*. (6) *Sri Gehpahana* (*Gehruana*?). (7) *Sri Akimi or Arimi*. (8) *Mágána*. (9) *Sri Prapannabuddhi* or *Prasannabudhi*. (10) *Sri Kana*. The alphabet appears to be of the sixth century, and the names are of *Jaina Sádhus* of the *Digambara* sect.

No. 11.—“*Badámi*, Inscribed Rock near the largest Cave.”

There are different names and an inscription of four short lines. The last is difficult to decipher.

The names are—(1) *Sri Vimala*. (2) *Sri.....* (3) *Sri Rúpa Sekhara*. (4) *Sri Bálachaila*. (5) *Sri Kodinaka*. (6) *Sri Rasábhi*. (7) *Sri Sudnyána Avyarasandha* (or *Avyaramandha*).

The inscription commences with *Srimat Prithivi Vallabha Mangalísa*, who gave something. The name of *Sri Gunabodhi* next occurs. *Mangalísa* was undoubtedly a *Chálukya* king, the uncle of *Pulakesi II*. The age of *Mangalísa*, the sixth century of the Christian era, agrees with the age which may be assigned to the alphabet. The inscription, judging from the alphabet, is a little older than the names at some distance above it. The names therefore were written after the inscription.

No. 12.—“Badāmi, Inscription in the interior of the Cave.”

This inscription consists of twenty-four lines, and, judging from the alphabet, is of the sixth century. The photograph is so indistinct that not a single line can be deciphered with confidence.

The Chālukyas are evidently spoken of.

The titles, Mānavyasa, Gotrāna, Haritiputrāna, of the Chālukyas, can be made out. In the sixth line, the expression “Pravardhamāna Samvatsara,” i. e. “the current year” can be made out, but not the number of the year, or the king’s name; also the words Śaka Nripati Samvatsara (the year of the Śaka king) can be made out, but the date, which is in the seventh line, cannot be deciphered.

The whole inscription is entire and in Sanskrit, and is well worthy of being recopied and translated.

No. 13.—“Badāmi” (same as No. 12).

There are six lines, and the language is Canarese. The age of the inscription, judging by the alphabet, is the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

No. 14.—“Badāmi” (same as No. 13).

It is dated in Śālivāhana Śaka Varshambula 1426, i. e. A.D. 1504, Pramathi year A’shādha Bahula 2nd.

The Gēru (Guru) Munivara (chief amongst Munis) Bālā Vriti, an ascetic from childhood.

Then follows a space, and farther on are two lines in which the name Kandapa Kavivara can be made out.

No. 15.—“Badāmi, Inscribed Stone in the Town.”

This inscription consists of thirty-one lines, the upper half of which is obliterated, but the remaining letters can be clearly made out. It relates to the Chālukya Jagadeka Malla. In the year Siddhārtha Kārtika, bright half 13, the lunar day Monday, he gave gifts to several Yogis, who were probably Pésupatas. The names of two of them are Deva Sarma and Hiddavya Siddha.

The name Gadyána is applied to certain current coins.

The year Siddhārtha has reference to a year of the reign of Jagadeka Malla.

No. 16.—“Purudkula, Inscription on a Stone, nine feet high, in the temple.”

This inscription is in Sanskrit and Canarese. It consists of six distinct lines and twelve broken ones, several more having been erased. There are names of kings of the Chálukya and Sinda dynasties. A king, doubtfully read Mánkavanika, appears to belong to the Chálukya dynasty. In the Sinda Vansa are mentioned, Sáhasottunga, Chámunda Bhūpa, and A'chideva.

The name of Chámunda's wife was Demala Devī. There is some reference to the year of the Śaka era in the sixty-sixth line, but as the language is Canarese I cannot at present make out any thing further. The giver of the grant is A'chideva, he gave a village (?) for the temple Vijayesvara.

The land was given in charge of Sūryabharana Paṇḍita-deva. Chámunda-deva is stated to be worthy of the praise of the kings of the Gurjaras, A'ndhras, Drávidas, and of Magadha and Nepála, and the same Chámunda is said to be the protector (?) of Kalinga, Vanga, Maru, Gurjara, Málava, Chera, and Chola. In describing the Sinda Vansa, the name of Kuntala-desa frequently occurs, and Kuntala appears to have belonged to the Sindas. In describing Sáhasottunga, he is stated to have served the lotus of the feet of the Chálukya king, and is clear that the Sindas were subordinates of the Chálukyas.

No. 17.—“Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar in the Great Temple.”

This inscription consists of seven lines in Sanskrit and Canarese, and belongs to the seventh century. There is a king named Śrī Kaliballaha, who has the titles Dhárā-varsha-śrī-prithivī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-bhāttāraka. His queen is stated to have given some land. The

king may be one of the Ráshtrakútas, but I am not certain as to whether the rendering of his name is correct or not. The name appears to be new, and the king appears to have been a great monarch, as the title Mahárájádhirāja (king of kings) shows.

No. 18.—“ Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar outside the Great Temple.”

The pillars have carvings illustrating scenes from the Rámáyana, and names are written over them.

1st line.—Karadúsana (Kharadúsana), two brothers of Tádaká, giants (Suppa Nāgi), Súrpanakhá, a sister of the giant Rávana, having long and broad nails. Lakkana (Lakshmana) brother of Ráma. Suppanági Lakkana. Ráma Síté.

2nd line.—Suppanági Karadúsana Suppanági Ráma Lakkana Síté.

3rd line.—Pollathi (Paulastya or Rávana) Ráma, Pollathi, Ráma, Pollathi, Lakkana, Ráma, Síté, Máricha (Marichi) Rávana.

4th line.—Suppanakhi (?) Rávana Jatáyu, Rávana Síté, Rávana Síté, Lakkana Síté.

The alphabet is of the seventh or eighth century.

No. 19.—“ Purudkula, Inscribed Pillar in the Great Temple.”

This inscription is in Sanskrit verse. It speaks of the style praised by Bharata (the author of the “ Nátya-sástra”).

*Translation.*—“ The elephant, blinded by intoxication (i.e. the proud learned) is positively deprived of his inebriety by the lion sound of delight from the drama composed according to the rules recommended by Bharata (the author of the Bharata-sútras), and the tops (heads) of the mountains, the crooked and proud actors, breaking asunder, fall low indeed by the thunderbolt of the beautiful composition, according to the rules of Bharata as followed by actors.”

Achalada Bharata's Sùtras have been published by my learned friend, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall.

No. 20.—“Purudkula, Inscription on the Eastern Porch of the Great Temple.”

There are three lines, two of which are entire, but in the third line two letters only are decipherable.

The name of Dhùliprabhudeva, an ascetic, is made out.

The alphabet is of about the ninth century.

No. 21.—“Purudkula, Inscription on the Southern Porch of the Great Temple.”

Three lines over an image.

The names of some “A'cháryas” and a “gaudahasti” are given ; the letters, though apparently distinct, are not decipherable.

The alphabet is of the seventh century.

No. 22.—“Inscribed Stone in a Temple at Bunshunkuree.”

About fifteen lines are clearly decipherable. From the sixteenth to the twenty-second the lines are more and more destroyed. It is probable that the inscription may have been longer, but if so the lines are completely effaced. It is dated Sáliváhana Śaka 1423, i. e. A. D. 1501, and is in Sanskrit and Canarese. It commences with a Sanskrit verse in praise of Siva. The verse is to be found at the commencement of the “Harshacharita” of Bāna-bhatta, who wrote in the seventh century, and is evidently quoted in this inscription and others recording grants of land in this volume. The verse is, I suppose, Bāna's own, and not quoted by him from an older author. The verse in praise of Gaṇapati is a composition of the learned commentator Mallinātha, in his “Tikā” (Commentary) on the “Megha-dūta,” or “Cloud-Messenger” of Kālidāsa. The name of a king Achyuta Rāya is found ; he has the titles Sakala-sámanta-chakra-mukuta-mani-maríchi-manjari-virájita-charaṇa-kamala-rajendra-śekhara-sámat-mahárájádhirāja-paramesvara-śrī-vīrapratápa.

## No. 23.—“Dumbul, Inscribed Stone”

The photograph is indistinct. The Śaka era 1108, i. e. A. D. 1186, can be read.

There are eighty-four lines ; the photographic copy of the inscription is pasted upside down in my book.

## No. 24.—“Guduk. Two Inscribed Stones.”

The inscription on the smaller stone is indistinct, and of the twelfth century. The second inscription is in Sanskrit verse and is indistinct in places. There are fifty-six lines, commencing with the praise of Viṣṇu, and the record relates to a rājā of the Yadu race. After many kings, there is one bearing the name Sālā or Sada. In<sup>+</sup> Sāṅka-pura whilst going on a pious duty he killed a tiger which came to devour him, and hence he obtained the title Hayasālā, and the town was also called Hayasālā. The mark of the wound from the tiger's bite was a source of fear to his enemies. After him, some rājās having reigned, Vinayāditya flourished, to him succeeded Ulayāṅga, who had two sons, Ballāla (or Bellāla) and Viṣṇuvardhana. The elder brother, Ballāla, conquered the Gajapati king, Jagaddeva. The younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana, succeeded Ballāla. He wrested Changī and other countries from his enemies, and having subjected all from his residence as far as Bedvāla, he bathed his horse in the Kṛishṇa-Veṇā, i. e. the stream formed by the junction of the Kṛishṇa and Veṇā rivers. His nobles used to urge on him the invincibility of Parimaradideva, the Chālukya king, and the necessity of caution and courage. He gave lands, performed Yajnyas, gave the “sixteen great gifts,” and did other meritorious works. His son was Nara-siṅha ; his queen, descended from a noble family, was Debālā-devī. By her he had a son named Vīra Ballāla, who obtained his dominion by the favour of<sup>+</sup> (the god) Vajrevara. Then follows a fulsome eulogy : he was liberal, skilful in the sciences (Tarka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Vātsyāyana, Bharata Rāja-nīti), a warrior and a patron of the learned.

Having ascended the throne of the Hayasala kings, the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Magadha, Chola, Málava, Pándya, Kerala, Gurjara, &c., lost their courage. He took sixty elephants from a Kalachuri chief, after conquering Brahma-channipati, the commander of the elephants. He also took possession of Kuntala-desa by rooting out Jaitra Singgha. the right arm, as it were, of Bhillama. Bhillama and Jaitra-pála were Yádava kings of Devagiri, the modern Daulatábád. He had the titles, Samasta-bhuvanásraya, Sri-prithivi-vallabha-mahárájádhirája-parmesvara-parama-bhattáraka-dváravatipur-avarádhivara-ádava-kulámbaradyumani-sammyakta-chúdámani-giri-durgá Malla, &c. He established his camp at Tena Gundí. The god Siva, named Trikutevara, is in the Kratuka village. Siddhánti-chandra-bhúshana-pañdita-deva was a sage who succeeded to the seat of Kála-mukháchárya. Trikutevara was so called from three lingas in three places, and the sage being considered the fourth place (Kuta), the place was called Chatur-kutevara. He was truthful, chaste, devoted to contemplation, and eminent in the sciences and in all the "Saiva-kathá" Siddhántas.

For the Ranga-bhoga and daily presents, also for repairs, &c., for gifts to the learned, for feeding ascetics and brahmans, the village of (name lost), with its ancient limits, was given. 1104 years of the Śaka king (A. D. 1182) having passed, on Mārgasirshya full moon, Saturday, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the king having washed the feet of Chandra-bhúshana-pañdita-deva, the truthful, the disciple of Vidyábharaṇa-deva, the disciple of the disciple of Kála Mukháchárya Someśvara-deva.....

The fruit of protecting Dharma is related to be this by Manu, Vyása, and other great sages.

By the order of king Bellála-deva, Agnisarmá composed this Śásanapaddhati. From the first inscription of fifty lines many letters of the second and third lines are lost. In the Dakshinápatha is, a village given for religious purposes

of the name of Kratura, in the centre of the Mahála of thirty villages, called Balvala ; this was given by Janmejaya, of the race of the Pándavas, at the snake-sacrifice, to seventy-two Brahmans of various gotras and so on, Brahmans who attained eminence by (the god) Vira Náráyana Deva..... Bhagatesvara Deva Satya-Vákya, Kalikálarási Pandita.

The story of the grant of the village by Janmejaya appears to me to be fabulous.

No. 25.—“Guduk, Inscribed Stone.”

The photograph is indistinct. The inscription consists of fifty-six lines in mixed Sanskrit and Canarese.

In the second line, the name of Trikutesvara is recognized, and in the twentieth line, that of Rája-deva occurs.

The first two and the last thirteen lines are, from indistinctness, quite illegible.

No. 26.—“Kirwutte, Inscribed Stone.”

In this inscription, which consists of eighty-one lines, the letters below, with the exception of ten, are distinct and legible, but in consequence of the language being Canarese I have not been able to understand its contents. In the beginning (fourth line) occurs the name of Prithivi-vallabha-Mahárajédhirája-paramesvara-parama-bhattáraka-satyásraya-Kula-tilaka-chálukyábharaṇa-śrīmta-tribhuvana Malla-deva ; then follow several names of Panditas, probably of the Pásupata sect. The names are, Sri Várideva Pandita-deva, Suresvara Pandita-deva. There is something related of Kálidása Dandá-dhisa, probably the commander-in-chief of the Chálukya king. The names of villages also occur, viz., Ana-dolagrahára, Gahagrahára, and Lantitondigráma, and the river Tungabhadrá is also mentioned. The name Kálidása occurs several times, and the names of Gandaráditya Bhuruhimitra, Varma-deva are probably those of the sons and grandsons of the officer Kálidása. In two places Lakutisvara Pandita is mentioned ; he was probably a Pásupata (Nakulisvara). Some gift is presented to him in the

year 14 of the Chálukya Chakravara Pramathi Samvatsara, Jyaishtha Suddha, full moon, Sunday, when an eclipse of the moon took place. For the support of Someśvara, for the food of ascetics, a village is given. Vantha Śrī wrote this.

*Note.*—The age of the alphabet is the twelfth or thirteenth century of the Christian era. The name of Tribhuvana Malla is given in Wathen's list of the Chálukyas ("Journal R. A. S.," vol. iv., pp. 7. and 17).

No. 27.—"Sonduttee, Inscribed Stone."

This inscription consists of ninety-three lines, in clear letters, in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit.

The name of "Mallikārjuna" is frequently met with, and may be the name of a king. Lakshmi-deva, of the Rattakula, is praised. In the fifth line, the Ratta dynasty and descendants of the Rāshtra-kūta dynasty are mentioned. Lakshmi-deva does not appear to have been a king, but probably a minister or high officer. Kundi-desa is mentioned. The name of a Rāja-guru, or "Royal guide," Munichandra, is read; he was probably of the Jaina faith. Mallikārjuna appears in some places to be the name of the king or minister, whilst in others it appears to refer to the great shrine of Mallikārjuna. In one place (the eleventh line) he is called a son of Kāma Rāja; in another place Sámāsiga; his wife's name was Gauri. He lived in Kolāra. His guru (spiritual adviser) was Munichandra. By his direction, the god Mallinātha was established (in a temple). There are several names of Munis, such as Śrī Munivari, Muni, Mukhya Kānteya Súryapati, Vrate, Valuvarma, and Samkama. Next follows the praise of the poet Rudra-bhatta. In the sixty-first line a second story commences with Lakshmi-deva, who had the five great titles, and is styled Mahāmandalesvara Lattana puravarādhivara Ratta Kula bhūshana Sindhura Lānchhana Sushvisadayaso Lānchhana Suvarna garuda Dhvaja Sāhasottunga, and so on. He lived in Venugrama. The inscription was written in Śaka year 1151. By the

direction of Rāja-guru Munichandra, a village called Nirvali was given for the support of the temple of Mallinātha. The sixty-ninth line concludes this portion. Then follows another inscription. The grantee is a Kesi-Rāja to Mallinātha. Matimā-deva Gahālya Mānikya Basadiyāchārya Prabhāchandra Siddhānti-deva Subhachandra Siddhānti-deva Sippa-rappa Indrakīrti-deva, Śrī Dhara-deva, and other names occur. Some of them ending in "Chandra" appear to belong to the Digambara Jainas.

No. 28.—"Narsapura, Inscribed Stone."

This inscription is chiefly Canarese, and consists of ninety-two lines, the letters of which are clear. In it the Kalachuri and Kadamba dynasties are referred to. At the conclusion is the year (figure and name obliterated) of Lāvideva, of the Kalachuri family. The gift is presented on Monday by Mahāmāndalesvara Lāvideva. Kalachuri appears sometimes as Kalachari. In the ninetieth and ninety-first lines the Śaka year 1194 (A.D. 1272), Nandana Samvatsara Māgha, 15 wane of the moon, Monday (Sankramanas), are given.

No. 29.—"Hungul, Memorial Stones."

On one stone is an inscription of six lines, composed of indistinct letters in Canarese; under it is the figure of a male dancing with females, three on each side, and may be intended to show the Rāja dancing with apsaras or fairies in Paradise. Beneath the figures is an inscription of six lines, and under that a battle scene is represented, whilst under it again is a very indistinct inscription of one line.

On the second stone, there is at top an inscription of four lines. In the fourth line the words Sinha-Lānchhana Mayuravarma Vansambara degumanī, undoubtedly indicate the same person as in No. 9. Under the inscription is the figure of a man seated in a palanquin, and attended by musicians, whilst several women are represented as serving him with chāmaras, &c. Then follows an inscription of four lines. Below the representations are some words (epithets of

a king whose name is lost); under him was a "Sáparanáditya" or "Sáharnáditya." Below these lines is a representation of a fort, with soldiers armed with swords and shields; under it are four lines which, owing to indistinctness, cannot be deciphered. Under them again is a battle scene, below which are five lines not readable on account of indistinctness; the original could be easily deciphered. Under all is a representation of a great battle.

No. 30.—"Hungul, a Memorial Stone."

The inscription is of seven lines. In the second line, Śrīmat Mahāmānda (Iśvara) can be read. In the fifth line, the words "Sāhasottunga Śrīmat Tailapa Dēvena" can be deciphered. The original could be made out entirely.

No. 31.—"Humpee, or Beejanugger, Inscribed Stone."

This inscription consists of thirty lines in Canarese. Mādhuva Nripa and Śāminṭa Lakkhiya Náyaka and Mádela Náyaka are mentioned. The names Virūpāksha-deva, Hampá-devi, and Bhairava-deva occur. The inscription relates to the repairs of the temple. The name of a village Brahmapuri (11th line) occurs. The Saka year 1121, i. e. A. D. 1199, is given in the eleventh line.

No. 32.—"Humpee, or Beejanugger, Inscribed Stone."

This inscription consists of forty lines, and is in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. Some letters in the lines at the commencement are lost. The name of Śāhu, a king who killed Hindurāya Suratrāna is met with. Suratrāna is the Sanskrit modification of Sultan, and the Hindu sultan referred to here may be Ahmad, the founder of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmādnuggur. This Sultan was defeated by Krishṇa-rāja, the son of Ambikā and king Narasa. Krishṇa-rāja has a great variety of titles, amongst others Mahārājādhirāja. His capital was Vijñyanagara. He gave to Virūpāksha (Śiva temple) the village of Singináyaka Nahalli, and constructed the Rāngamaṇḍapa (hall).

On the coronation day, he allotted different sums to the

hall for food, repairs, &c. The grant is dated Saka 1430, i. e. A. D. 1518, on the coronation day Māgha Suddha 14.

No. 33.—“Telowlee, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of one hundred and twenty-six lines, mostly in Canarese, and is of a minister of Singhana, the Yādava king, Saka 1160, i. e. A. D. 1238. The names of Jaitugi and Singhana rājās are mentioned, and Singhana is much praised. He was a Mahārājādhirāja and the lord of Dvāravatipura, of Vishnu Vansa, and Udvhala-Varāta Bhupati Devagiri-durga Nittale, i. e., I suppose, he who defeated the Rājā of Varadha (Berar) and Devagiri (Dowlatabād). He defeated Jajalla-deva and the Tūruskas, who caused Bhojarāja of Panālā (the fort of Panālā close to Kolapur) to fly; the conqueror of Vihansī Raja, Hoyasana (Haysala) Rājā, Bullāla and Lakshi Rājās. He reduced the pride of the Mālvas, the profound A'bhīras, and the terrible Pendāras (Pendharis). The foe of the king of Gurjara, of A'rambhārāya. Of him Singhana as also the kings of Anga, Kalinga, Nepāla, Chola and Pāndya were afraid. The commander of his elephants was Lakhideva.

The race of Salvanta Thakkur is then given. He was descended from Rājā Thakkur and Nāgeśvara-deva. He had authority over Vingaliya. The name of Kuntala (a portion of Mahārāshtra) also occurs.

No. 34.—Is only a reduced photograph of No. 33

No. 35.—“Chowdanpur, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription commences with the prayer that the power of the king Prithvi-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-satyāraya-kula-tilaka-chālukyaśbharana-tribhuvana-Malladeva may ever increase. Afterwards, the name of Chandragupta, of the Gupta race, can be read. There are also several other names, but the language being Canarese, the information, which is of some historical value, cannot now be extracted. Amalideva Malla Sri-pata Virabhatta and other names occur. The names of Vanavāsi and

Tungabhadra are found. At the conclusion, Mahásámanta, Vira Lakshmi-kánta, Jitánvaya Chola-Vanságrani and other adjectives applied to a king, whose name may be Vira Lakshmi-kánta of the Chola race, and derived from the Jita or Játa tribe. The inscription, which does not appear to end here, is worthy of translation.

No. 36.—“Chowdanpur, Inscribed Stone.”

Near the beginning is the name of a king Vikramáditya. Then follows praise of king Vira Vikrama, of the Gupta race. He is called Ujjayani puravarádhisvara (Lord of Ujjayani) Vala Kalpa Vriksha Lánchhita, Vijayadvaja, &c., Chandra Guptánvaya, &c. The name of Vanavási occurs. One of the chiefs of the king Vira Vikrama was Kála-Kavoya Náyaka, who gives a grant in Saka year 1113 (A.D. 1191) year Virodha Krita, month Márgasírsa, 15 wane of the moon, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, to Muktesvara-deva. The inscription is important, as showing the existence of the rule of the Guptas in Malwa in the twelfth century of the Christian era. Whether the subordinate chief, Kala Kavoya Náyaka was of the Gupta race, is not clear.

No. 37.—“Chowdanpur, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) This inscription contains allusions to the Chárváka, Saugata and Bauddhágama Scriptures; also the names of Devaráya and Vira Vikramánka, the first a Yádava, and the second probably a Gupta prince. To Samnátha-deva, and Siva-deva, on the south bank of the Tungabhadra in Sivamukti-kshetra, a grant is given in the Saka year 1186, i.e., A.D. 1264, year Dundubhi, month Vaisákha, Suddha 15, Monday, when an eclipse of the moon occurred.

The inscription deserves translation.

(b) Praise of Siva Basavaipya, Prabhu Nandinátha, Jina, Bauddha, “Bhugalesvara.” Vira Marudeva Ráya of the Yádava race, and Vikramáditya of the Gupta race. Saka year (twenty-fifth line) 1148 (A. D. 1226), year Párhiva, month Bhádrapada Suddhapúrñima, Monday, eclipse of the moon.

Somnátha (a temple). At the end is the name of Tribhuvana Malla Deva. These are well deserving of translation.

No. 38.—“Harihara, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Obeisance to Harihara.

Śālivāhana Śaka 1483 (A. D. 1561), year Mamnatha, month Māgha Suddha, full moon Monday, eclipse of the moon, when Mahārājādhirāja, Paramesvara Sri Vīra Pratāpa Sadāsiva Mahārāya Vidyānagara Dali Sukha Sankathā Vinoda made a grant.

(b) Photograph indistinct. (Line 3), Śaka year 1453, 1, c. A. D. 1531.

No. 39.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription consists of eighty-five lines in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. The lower fourteen lines are indistinct.

Bhillam and Jaitugi, Singhana Mahādevarāya and Ramachandra, Mahindra of the Yādava race, are mentioned. The last king gives a grant ; he is in one place styled Kadambarāya Sthāpanāchārya, the restorer (literally, establisher) of the Kadamba king. He is also described as the destroyer of the wealth of the Hayasana king, the establisher of the king of Telanga, and the destroyer of the king of Mālava (Maliva). He was the Ankusa (or elephant goad) of Bhojarāja. Śaka year 1199, year Isvara, month Chaitra... .....13.

No. 40.—“Harihara, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) The surface of the stone has scaled off in places, and at the bottom the photograph is indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit and Canarese. The first five lines are in Sanskrit ; they contain praises of Śānta, Gaṇapati, and Varāha.

(b) There are seventy-one lines and the lower part (thirty-six-lines) is very indistinct in the photograph, and therefore unreadable.

There was Śri Śankara Nārāyaṇa Deva, king of Kāñchipura and of the Yādava race ; under him was Vijaya Pāṇḍya

Deva of the Pāṇḍya family ; under him was the chief minister Vijayavarmā ; under Vijaya Pāṇḍya Deva was Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Vanavāsi Puravarādhīśvara, Vānara Dhvaja, &c., Kadamba-chakri, Mayūra Varmā, who had performed eighteen Aśvamedhas (horse sacrifices).

No. 41.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

This inscription is clear, with the exception that in places the lines are destroyed, and at the bottom indistinct. The language is Sanskrit with some Canarese.

Obeisance to Harihara. There is next an account of a king named Hariharaśvara, who was brave, liberal, &c. ; his son was Deva Rāja, famous, &c. There is some reference to the Hindurāya Suratrana (Sultan). Deva Rāja gave a grant at the suggestion of Rāja Guru Kriśṇa Śakti-Guru, in the Śaka year 1332, year Vikriti, month Bhādrapada, Śuddha 12, Monday.

No. 42.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

An inscription of many lines, of which forty-seven only are legible, the rest being indistinct in the photograph.

The language is Canarese and Sanskrit. The name of Kuntala-deśa occurs ; then a description of the Chālukya king Jagadeka Malla ; then names or descriptions, Vera Padma Bhūpa Harihara, Bhūdeva Kāma Nripāla.

No. 48.—“Harihara, Inscribed Stone.”

The first two lines are in the Deva-nāgarī character, but are illegible from the indistinctness of the photograph and the smallness of the letters. Next is a description of the Chālukya kings of Tailapa, Jayasinha and Aśhavamalla.

No. 44.—“Chittula Durga, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) The letters are indistinct. In the second (b) is the king's name, and (a) is older than (b). (b) Śaka era 1324, year Khara, month Kārtika Śuddha Pūrṇimā Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Vira Malla.

No. 45.—“Chittula Durga, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Contains frequently the name of Bukkaráya. In the seventh line is Śaka year 1278, year Durmukha.

(b) Bukka-ráya again. The Mahámandalesvara Khan-derai. Śaka 1277. Bukka-ráya was the king of Vijayana-gara on the Tungabhadrá, and the patron of the learned brothers, Mādhava and Śáyana."

No. 46 — "Lakhmeshwar, Inscribed Stone."

Canarese with some Sanskrit.

In this inscription are names of the Chálukya kings, viz., Tailapa, Satyáraya, Vikrama, Sandaiyana, Jayasinha, A'havamalla and Someśvara, who was a destroyer of the Cholas and Gurjaras. Permádi Nripa is also alluded to. Names of Kesarāja Dandádhīśa, Kesava-deva, Abirāja Dandádhīśa, Melamaiya Dandádhīśa, Adisa-bhatta, Droná-chárya Gonadi, follow ; also, names of females, viz., Chomal-devi, Vennál-devi, Laliya-devi. Manola and Ahera are two races, the latter meaning no doubt the Ahira or Abhira race. Kesi-devi was of the former race. Mahendra Somavrati, Soma and Paṇḍita-deva were Pásupatas.

Somanátha refers to the Śiva-linga noticed before. Jaya Kesi-deva and Mantri Kesava were ministers. The era has not been discovered.

NOTE.—The list of Chálukyas here given tallies with that of Wathen, (Journal R. A. S., Vol. 4. 1837, p. 7.)

No. 47.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

Canarese with a little Sanskrit ; letters clear. In the fifteenth line are Śaka 976, year Jaya, month Vaiśákha, dark half, third lunar day. The introduction commences with a prayer that the reign of Trailokya Malla-deva, the Chálukya king, may be prolonged. A'hava Malla Vallabha appears to have established the image or linga of Someśvara-deva. The names of A'cháryas (Pásupatas), viz., Chandreśvara-deva, Mankha-deva, and Jnyána Śiva-deva occur.

No. 48.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

The letters are very clear. The total number of lines is sixty-six.

It commences with obeisance to Lakulésa Śāsana (a particular sect of the Pásupatas). The name of Someśvara Muni occurs. Vikramáditya-deva and Tribhuvana Malla-deva of the Chálukyas are mentioned, also Bhágala-devi, daughter of a king, a dependent of Tribhuvana Malla of the Pándya family, ruler of Gokarna and of the Konkan. Kaina-deva, a Mahámandalesvara, is also mentioned ; likewise, Someśvara Pandita, Santa Śiva and Kriya Śakti Pandita.

The date is the thirty-seventh year of Vikrama, the Chálukya king, year Nandana, month Pausa Śukla Paksha, 4th lunar day, Sunday.

Mallakárjunabhatta, "the best of poets," wrote the grant.

No. 49.—"Balagavee, Inscribed Stone."

The letters are clear, and each line is numbered. The inscription relates to Vijjana-deva, rájá of the Kulachuri race ; he has a great variety of titles. Kuntala (country) is mentioned, also Jnyána Śakti-deva (a Pásupata A'charya) Mánika Setti, Śiva Pada Śekhara, Mari Setti, Lovi Setti, Holli Setti, Sari Machi Setti. Year of Vira Náráyana A'havamalla-deva's reign 3 ; year Plavanga ? Śrávana Bahula, 3rd lunar day.

No. 50.—"Balagavee, Two Inscribed Stones."

(a) Obeisance to Śiva and to Rája-guru. Praise of Vijjana-deva, Mahárájádhirája Paramesvara Parama Bhattáraka Kalinjara Puravarádhivara Suvarna Vrishabhadhvaja Damaruka-turyamirghoshana Kalachurya Kuli-Kamala Már-tanda Kadana Prachanda Mána Kanakáchala Subháráditya, &c., Tribhuvana MaHa Vijjana-deva. It is important to note that he is called Lord of Kalinjara, which is in Central India, and the ruins of it are described in the "Journal of the B. A. S." Next is a description of Sankama-deva. Lakshmi-deva, Chadugi-deva, Revanaiya Danda Náyaka, Sevaniya Danda Náyaka Senápati Kovanaiya Danda Náyaka are mentioned. A temple of TriKúta Prasáda of Kedáresvara-deva in Balligráma

was constructed. For its support, a village was given to Vāma Śakti Paṇḍita in Śaka era 1108 (A. D. 1186 Parabhiva year, month Vaiśākha Suddha (bright half of the moon). The names of Tailaha-deva occurs (35th line), Tekalla Nripa (37th line), also Tailapa Kshonipāla (37th and 38th lines).

(b) The name of the Chálukya king, Vikramāditya, then of Senápati Muntapāla, destroyer of the Látas, he was a Danda Náyaka. Next Paṇḍita and Munindra Kanda-deva are mentioned, also Somesvara Paṇḍita. That the reign of the Chálukya Tribhuvana Malla may prosper steadily is prayed for. In the year 27 of the Chálukya Vikramāditya, Govinda Danda Náyaka gave a village to Somesvara-deva Paṇḍita, the Sthánachárya (the local spiritual guide) of Kedáresvara.

No. 51.—“ Balagavee, Two Inscribed Stones.”

(a) Name of Jagaddeva Bhúpa Vijjala-deva, Vijayāditya-deva, Jayakesi-deva, Tribhuvana Malla, and Jagaddeva occur. In the year 13 of Jayadeva Malla Deva Kārtika Purnamāsi, Monday, eclipse of the moon, a village was given for Kadáresvara to Śrī Khairappa Śrī Gautama Paṇḍita.

(b) The name of Trailokya Malla Deva, the Chálukya king, occurs. He has, besides others, the title of Mahārāja-dhirāja. Mahámāndalesvara Vijjana-deva, the Kalachuri lord of Kalanjara, is also mentioned. In Balipuri, the capital, for the support of the Southern Kedáresvara, a village was given to Vāma Śakti Paṇḍita-deva, the Sthánachárya, in the 6th year of Trailokya Malla (54th line).

Nos. 52, 53, 54 and 55 are “Inscriptions from Halla Bede, from the four sides of a pillar at the south entrance of the temple.”

The inscription commences with No. 54. The whole of it is clear, but being in Canarese, nothing has as yet been made out. In line 22, No. 54, is the name of Vira Ballála Nripa; his Senápati was Kuvara Lakshma (2nd and 3rd lines No. 55).

## No. 56.—“Hulla Bede, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription is in Canarese mixed with Sanskrit. Obeisance to Somanátha. The name of Vikramárka of the Gupta race occurs, also of Vijjala-deva, of Golavara Nripa, Soma Nripa, Somadeva Rana Nripati, Vibhu Mallagi or Malagi Deva A'hawamalla (probably a Kulachuri rájá) Jaya Deva. The lower part being here and there destroyed, the Saka year is not decipherable.

## No. 57.—“Hulla Bede, Inscribed Stone.”

The inscription is in Canarese and Sanskrit. There is a description of Vikrama, a Gupta king. He is also called Vikrama Bhúpála Vira Vikrama and Vikramáditya. The queen's name was Padmana-devi. A solar race also appears to be described. There was Sántali Maṇḍaládhpati Sinha Bhúpála. From him was descended Jinadatta Nripála Singadeva Kshitipa Singa Nripála, &c. The king Vikramáditya granted a village to Somanátha. In the 74th line is the name of Brahmapuri.

Saka 1136, year Śrīmukha, month Chaitra Vadya Amá-vasyá ; solar eclipse.

## REMARKS.

In this large photographic work published by the Committee of the Architectural Antiquities of Western India, there are sixty-nine plates, some of which contain double inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions are Jaina, and the rest of Brahmans and Párapatas. The greater number of them record grants of land on the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse. The oldest and most valuable is the Jaina inscription at Iwulle, a translation of which, with remarks, I read at a former meeting. Of the others, No. 12 in the Caves at Badami is equally old, but unfortunately is illegible on account of the indistinctness of the photograph. It relates to the Chálukyas, and a distinct copy would be valuable.

The inscriptions recording grants of land have at top a representation of the Sun and Moon, a Linga (Phallus) and a Nandi (Bull), a Cow and a Calf. The sun and moon are intended as witnesses ; the cow represents the land grant, and the calf the recipient who enjoys the fruit ; the Linga and Nandi represent *Siva* and his bull. There is generally a worshipper with *Jatá* (plaited hair) on his head, putting a cap on the linga, or throwing flowers on it, or bowing to it, and so on. Some of the stones are memorial stones, and are interesting as representing battle scenes, and the various kinds of war implements then in use.

The inscriptions range from the sixth to the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The resumé now submitted throws considerable light on the chronology and history of Southern India at that period. No doubt when some of the more remarkable inscriptions are fully translated, they will prove still more useful.

Photography is a very good method of copying the inscriptions for the purpose of decipherment, but it cannot equal, much less supersede, correct copies carefully made on the spot by some person competent to read the original. Almost every one of the originals of the photographs must be examined on the spot.

The inscriptions relate to the Chálukya, Yádava, Kulachuri, Kadamba, Gupta, Ratta, and Singha dynasties. As I intend to furnish the fullest notes on these dynasties, I do not think it necessary to make any lengthy remarks here. The inscriptions have thrown some unexpected light on the dynasty of the Guptas. At the time of Samudragupta, as may be seen from his inscription on the Allahabad pillar, Málava was ranked among the great kingdoms owing allegiance to him. His son, Chandragupta 2nd, must have conquered Málava and transferred his seat of government to Ujjayiní, for the inscriptions of Chandragupta 2nd are found at Bhilsā in the neighbourhood of Ujjayiní. The inscriptions now

deciphered speak of Guptán-vayas, or descendants of the Guptas, who gave the grants. Vikramáditya himself is called a descendant of Chandragupta, and lord of Ujjayini, and his subordinate gives a grant in Southern India. It is clear, therefore, that the Guptas continued to rule at Ujjayini till the twelfth century of the Christian era, and their sway seems to have extended as far as Vanavási in the south-west, which I may here remark was the capital of the Kadamba dynasties. We are in extreme doubt respecting the history of the Guptas after Buddhagupta. Babu Rájendralála Mitra has contributed a few names from an inscription at Apsar, in the Behar district, viz. :—

1. Krishna Gupta, 2. Haskka Gupta (son of 1), 3. Jiscita Gupta (son of 2), 4. Kumára Gupta (son of 3), 5. Dámodara Gupta (son of 4), 6. Mahásena Gupta (son of 5), 7. Mádhava Gupta (son of 6),.....8. Hashka Gupta (2nd son of 7), 9. A'ditya Sena (son of 8).

In the absence of data, it was found impossible by the learned Babu to determine the era of these princes, or the position they occupied in the history of Ancient Magadha. Some of the inscriptions now analysed are therefore valuable as throwing further unexpected light on the history of the Guptas. Remnants of the descendants of the Guptas who ruled in Southern India (Nos. 56, 57, 58) may be discovered, although, on careful inquiry, descendants of the Chálukyas, Yádavas, and Kadambas, still bear the family name, with occasionally slight variation. What families then represent the Guptas? A descendant of the Játas, which may be read also Jitas (Getæ), the Játs, appears as a Chola king on the Chola-Mandala or Coromandel Coast.

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## XIV.

*Discovery of complete Manuscript Copies of Bāna's Harsha Charita, with an Analysis of the more important portions.*

## THE HARSHA CHARITA OF BĀNA.

A copy of the Harsha Charita of Bāna, complete and accurate, with a Commentary, was discovered in Kāśmīr by a learned Pandit who was formerly in my service.

He has, at my special request, been examining many valuable libraries in that ancient seat of Sanskrit learning, and has sent me copies of many valuable manuscripts not procurable or even heard of in other parts of India. Beautiful copies of the original text and commentary of the Harsha Charita were made for me, and they reached me on the 30th July 1869.

The copyist of the original has the two following verses at the end :—

“In the year 955, month Chaitra, 14th lunar day of bright demilunation, Monday, I have copied the most wonderful and instructive account of Mahārājā Harsha, composed by the ingenious and learned Bāna.”

Neither the era nor the name of the copyist is given.

The copy now in my possession is far more correct than those hitherto procurable, and also has the merit of being a complete one.

The copies procured by my friend Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall were all incomplete, as was also one which was procured for me by my Pandit, Pāndurang Gopāl Pādhyé, twelve years ago and of which I sent a copy to the learned Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra in 1861.

The work is divided into eight parts (*ucchvāsas*). The eighth part has not hitherto been found complete ; and the discovery of the Kāśmīr manuscript, containing as it does all the parts in full, thus renders the work complete throughout, and at the same time removes an impression which

naturally arose, that, from some unknown cause, the author did not live to complete his work, and that it was thus brought to an abrupt termination.

The commentary is styled "Harsha Charita Sanketa." Its author is a Paṇḍit named Sankara, the son of Puṇyākara. His age and country are not given, but, as the commentary has only been found in Kāśmīr I feel justified in supposing him to have been a native of Kāśmīr. He quotes the Amara Kośha, Raghu Kāvya, Medical Nighantus, and other comparatively ancient works. The commentary is brief, but ably written, and is composed of a little more than two thousand verses. The copy sent is unusually free from mistakes. From the expressions "ityekē," "ityannyē," ("others explain it thus"), which frequently occur, it appears that there were other glosses preceding this one of Sankara Paṇḍit. With the assistance of this commentary, doubtful readings have been corrected, and I hope to publish soon an excellent edition of Bāṇa's Harsha Charita, with the commentary of Sankara. The names of the poets Kālidāsa, Rājasekhara, and Bhāmaha are referred to. Although I have ventured to suggest that the commentator was a native of Kāśmīr, yet he betrays extreme ignorance of the history of that country. In commenting on the following verse of Bāṇa in the introduction, he proceeds to explain that "Pravarasena was a certain poet," the real fact being that Pravarasena was a distinguished king of Kāśmīr, who, in my opinion, was a contemporary of Hiouen T'sang. The commentary is rare even in Kāśmīr. The Paṇḍit in whose library it was found was not himself aware of its existence. It has now been brought to the notice of many Kāśmīr Paṇḍits by the eulogies of my Paṇḍit, and many copies are being made by them.

An excellent abstract of the manuscript is given by Dr. Hall in his notes on his learned Preface to the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu, published in Calcutta in 1859 in the Bibliotheca

Indica. I shall commence nearly where Dr. Hall concludes (p. 53) :—

“Rájá Harsha, having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Rájya Srl. He met a Chief named Vyághraketu, son of Sarabhaketu. He introduced to the King, Nirgháta, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhúkampa Sabarus. The King made inquiries of the Sabara Chief regarding Rájya Srl ; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the King was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Piñdapáti)\* named Divákaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Rájya Srl. Hearing this, the King thought that Maitráyanīya† (Brahman) Divákaramitra, the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the “way of the Vedas,” in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the Sabara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divákaramitra. He admired the

\* Piñdapáti is the name to be found in this work of Bāna for Bauddha mendicants. They went from house to house, begging for rice piñdas or balls. See also *Mālatī-Mādhava* Act I., in which the commentator Jagaddhara explains the word Piñdapāta, as “Bhikshābhramana,” “the begging-round” of a Bauddha Bhikshu.

† This Maitráyanīya Brahman appears to have lived at the foot of the Vindhyas. At the present day at Bhadrāgaon and other conterminous villages near the Sātpada mountain, which is included in the Vindhyas, there are Brahmins of the Maitráyanīya school. They are rarely found in other places, and when they are, they may generally be traced to Bhadrāgaon. This is stated by me on the authority of several Brahmins of this school. It is remarkable to trace the residence of this class of Brahmins from the time of Harsha Varāhana to the present day. Other classes of Brahmins do not eat with them, and the reason may have been the early Buddhist tendencies of many of them.

mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Mádhavagupta's shoulder, he with a few Chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, viz., Vitarágas, A'rhatas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pátarabhikshus (commentator), (in the text, Pánduri-bhikshu), Bhágavatas, Varnins, Kesalunchakas, Kápias, Kánádas, Aupanishads, Aisvaras, Karanins, Kérandhomins, Dharmasástrins, Pauránikas, Saptatantavas, Śábdas, Páncharátrikas, and others. He also met Divákaramitra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divákaramitra, seeing the King, said, "To-day our austerities have, even in this life, borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods ; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the King's business." The King made inquiries regarding Rájya Śrī. It so happened that Rájya Śrī was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Rájya Śrī went to a disciple of Divákaramitra and said, "O mendicant ! Pravrajyá (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Saugatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord Śákya Muni is the family abode of mercy. The goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire." "My Guru (master)," said the disciple, "is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various A'gamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge."

Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said, "A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode." Hearing this, the King, with Divákaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Rájá heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kányakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Rájya Vardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhya. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants.

The King and his sister were sitting under a tree, and, seeing the attendants at a distance, Divákaramitra approached the King and said, 'O King, Chandra took by violence Tárá, the wife of Brihaspati. Still he used to suffer pangs from her separation. On one occasion he saw his own image reflected in the sea, and, being overwhelmed with passion and the thought of Tárá, his tears fell fast, and being swallowed by the shells in the sea were converted into pearls. These came into the possession of Vásuki (the king of Nágas). He strung them together. They possessed the power of destroying poison and producing a cooling sensation, and Vásuki wore them for that purpose. To procure some, the Nágas brought Nágárjuna Bhikshu to Pátála (the lower regions). Nágárjuna having asked for them, Vásuki presented them to him. Afterwards Nágárjuna presented them to Sávatáhana Narendra, the lord of the three seas, and his personal friend. In time, handed from master to disciple, they have at length come to my hands ; accept them that they may protect you from poison (evil)." Having thus said, he unloosed the '*ekávali*' tied in a knot in a Bhikshu's cloth

(*chivva*) and attached it to the King's shoulders. After a time, a maid of Rájya Sri (whose duty it was to present the betel-leaf for chewing) approached the King and spoke lowly as follows :—"Mahárāja, through me Rájya Sri begs to say to you that to women a husband or child is a support. To those who have neither, life is full of sorrows. Give therefore your permission for me, Rájya Sri, to put on the brown garment, (the sign of devotion to the mendicant order)." The Rájá made no answer, but Divákara Bhikshu said, "This your elder brother Harsha is to you like your father, and it is proper that you should live under his commands." Rájá Harsha addressed Divákaramitra, "You are like a pillar of support to people in sorrow. I therefore say that this my sister in her youth has been afflicted with sorrow, and I have resolved to slay the family of the enemy who killed my brother. Until this resolution of mine is carried into effect, I am anxious she should be with me, and so should you, that with religious consolation you may comfort her till my wishes are fulfilled. She and I shall accept the brown garments at the same time." The Bhadanta agreed to the King's request. The Rájá, with the Bhadanta and others, went to his army. The sun set, and the moon rose and shone beautifully."

The following is a careful translation of a passage which is of importance as containing a number of historical data. It has been translated in the preface to the *Vásavadattá* by Dr. Hall as follows :—

"Skandagupta, while counselling Harsha to avenge the murder of his brother, consoles him by recapitulating historical instances of untimely death. The learned commandant had heard of numerous mischances of this kind, which are now known only by his retail of them. Nágasena, of the Nága family, was destroyed at Padmávati ; perfidy abridged the days of Srutavarman at Srávastí, and of Svarachúda the Yavana. Mártikávanta lost his life from talking in his sleep. Agnimitra's son Sumitra was slain by Múladeva ;

**Bṛihadratha**, the Maurya, by his own general, **Pushpamitra** ; **Kakavarna**, lord of **Chandī**, by a descendant of **Śiupāla** ; **Devabhūti**, the Saunga, through the instrumentality of his own minister, **Vāsudeva** ; **Māgadha** by the counsellor of the governor of **Mekhalā** ; **Jaghanyaja**, son of **Pradyota**, by **Tāla-jangha** ; a **Gajapati** king of **Videha**, by **Kumārasena**, in the guise of a leech ; **Bhadrāsena**, king of **Kalinga**, by **Vīrasena**, his brother ; **Vajraprabhāva**, ruler of **Karūṣa**, by his younger son ; a prince of the **Śakas** at **Nalinapura**, by **Chandragupta**, habited as a woman ; **Chandraketu**, prince of the city of **Chakora**, by an emissary of King **Sūdraka** ; **Mahāsena**, prince of **Kāśī**, by **Suprabhā** ; a duke of **Ayodhyā** by **Ratnavatī** ; **Rantideva**, by **Rangavatī**, one of his wives ; **Vidūratha** by **Bindumati** ; **Vīrasena**, of **Sauvīra**, by **Hansavatī** ; and **Soma**, a monarch of the **Pūrus**, by a woman of his own race. **Devasena**, of **Suhma**, was poisoned by **Devakī** ; and **Bharata**, who reigned over **Aśmaka**, was also cut off before his time, as were **Pushkara**, prince of **Chāmundī** ; **Kṣhetravarma**, the **Maukhari** ; **Bṛihadratha**, of **Mathurā** ; **Vatsapati** ; King **Varmatāla** ; and **Śaīśunśī**, who committed suicide."

My translation of the same from my more perfect copy is as follows :—

**Nāgasena**, of the **Nāga** family, was destroyed at **Padmāvatī**, from his secrets having oozed out. Perfidy abridged the days of **Srutavarman** at **Śrāvastī**, and at **Mrittikāvatī**, **Svarnachūḍa** lost his life from talking in his sleep. A **Yavana** king was destroyed by his female chouri-bearer from her reading a letter reflected in his head-ornament. **Bṛihadratha**, king of **Mathurā**, was led by his avarice to dig for buried treasure, and killed by his troops. **Vatsapati** (i.e., I suppose, **Udayana**, king of **Vatsa** ; see **Kathā-sarit-sāgara**), who was fond of sporting in the elephant jungle, was made prisoner by soldiers of **Mahāsena** (**Chanda Pradyota** of **Ujjayinī**) concealed in an artificially constructed elephant. **Mitradeva**, having joined a company of actors, cut off the

head of Sumitra, the son of Agnimitra (who was very fond of dancing), just as a lotus should be sliced off. A king of Amaka, fond of music, had his head cut off by enemies who presented themselves as students of music anxious to learn the science from him, and who had concealed a sharp sword in a *vīṇā* (musical instrument). Brihadratha, the Maurya, a fool, was crushed at a grand review by his own general, the treacherous (*andṛya*, low) Pushpamitra.\* *Saisúnāgi†* (*Saisúnāri* in the text) was carried by force, in a machine moving in the air (was this a balloon?), which was constructed by Yavanas (Greeks), and had his throat cut near the city. The Sunga, full of lust and addicted to women, was killed by his minister Vasudeva, through the instrumentality of the daughter of a female servant of Vasubhūti, dressed and introduced as a queen. A king of Magadha, fond of excavations in the earth, was carried off through a tunnel (full of the jingling noise of the feet-ornaments of many women) in the Godhanagiri (a mountain named Surpa,‡ according to the annotator) to their own country by the ministers of the king of Mekala (the Vindhya, according to the commentator). At a festival of Mahākāla (in Ujjayini), Tālajāṅgha Vetāla (Chief of Evil Spirits) killed Kumārasena, a Paunaki (born in the Punnaka family), the youngest son of Pradyota (Pratodya in the text), whilst foolish enough to go and offer to sell "Mahāmānsa,"§ Gaṇapati, the son of the king of Videha, addicted to alchemy and medical preparations, after hearing how many persons had benefited by their medicines, was induced by quacks to submit to their treatment, which caused

\* Mentioned by Patanjali, and apparently his contemporary.

† One of the ten *Sisunāgas*. See *Vishnu-purāṇa*.

‡ There is a hill near Kannada in Khāndesh called Surpala.

§ See *Mālatī Mādhava*. Mādhava went to the great burning-ground at mid-night and offered to the spirits his own flesh. He there found Mālatī

him to be affected with consumption. Bhadrāsena of Kalinga, who trusted entirely to women, was destroyed by his eldest queen's brother, who concealed himself in a secret place in a wall. Dadhna, son of the king of the Karushas, who was trying to place another son on his throne, was killed by his own son, Virāsena, who was sitting on his mother's bed. Śūdraka killed Chandraketu, the lord of Chakora, with his ministers, coming to hear of his intention to remove him (Śūdraka) from office (of chief minister, I presume). Pushkara, king of Chāmundī (city, Chāmundā according to the commentator), who was fond of killing rhinoceroses, was killed by the soldiers of the king of Champā, who concealed themselves in a jungle amongst reeds and shrubs. Kshatravarmā, of the Maukhari family, a fool and fond of praise-singers, was rooted out by Mankhas (praise-singers), who were ever crying out "success" but were in reality employed as assassins (by his enemies). In Aripuri, a Śakapati (king of Śakas, Śakāchārya, according to the commentator), an adulterer was punished (killed) by Chandragupta, who presented himself in the dress of a woman.

The misfortunes which have befallen the careless through the treachery of women are well known to the king ; such as Mahāsena, prince of the Kāśis, was killed with food mixed with poisoned honey, by Suprabhā, that her son might succeed to the throne. Jārūthya, a king of Ayodhyā, a source of irritation to his enemies, was killed by his wife, Ratnavati, by throwing a sharp-edged circular mirror at him, pretending only to play and joke with him. A king of Saumha, named Devasena, was killed by his queen Devaki (who had illicit intercourse with her brother) by mixing poison with the blue lotus aborning her ears. Rantideva, prince of Vairanti (city), was killed by his wife Vallabhā, with her ankle-ornament, on account of jealousy of his other wife. Vidūratha, the Vrishni, was killed by Vīndumati by an instrument concealed in the folds of her hair. Virāsena of Sauvira by his wife Hansavati,

by means of a poisoned stone in her waistband. Somaka, of the Púrus, by his wife Paurava, by taking a mouthful of poisoned liquor and inducing her husband to drink it from her mouth.

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XV.

*Report on some Hindu Coins*

THE coins (83), eighty-three, "found by certain boys in the village of Devláná, Táluka Báglán, near the side of a river," forwarded by H. N. B. Erskine, Esq., Collector of Násik, with his letter dated 22nd January 1870, are very important as furnishing the name of a new king of about the same age as Kumára Gupta. Eighty-two of the coins weigh fifteen tolas and thirty-eight grains, the average weight of a piece or single coin being thus thirty-three and a half grains. The coins are of silver, and vary in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

They are all from the mint of one king. They resemble the coins of Kumára Gupta considerably. The face is a good deal similar to that of Kumára Gupta, and as the execution of the coins of Kumára Gupta exhibits a deterioration of art when compared with the coins of the Kshatrapas, so is a similar defective workmanship to be detected in these coins. On the obverse of Kumára Gupta's coins there is a peacock, but in its stead there is on these coins an image of *Nandí*, or the bull. But it is as well to point out that in the coins of Skanda Gupta, the son of Kumára Gupta, there is sometimes on the obverse a *Nandí* or bull. I possess a coin of Skanda Gupta with a peacock on the obverse.

The *Nandí* is pretty well executed on the coins, in a squatting posture.

Around the *Nandí*, which is in the centre, are letters which are of the same age as those of Kumára Gupta's coins,



Anmakundá-puravaresvara (sovereign of Anmakundá city), the lord of the great kings, doer of good, adorned with humility, the prosperous Mahámandalesvara.

In (?) Anmakondapattana munanda, where there is joyousness of stories of happiness (buna) buseyu chununda, in Śaka year 1064, vanenti in the year Chitra bhānu pukha 12, Vudhavāra (Wednesday or Thursday ?) munāndu tanasheru Rudresvara Munu, Śrī Vāsudeva, Śrī Sūryadeva, were established (anupratishṭhāseyinche).

I praise Hari as Varāha, to whom, at the time of upheaving, the land dashed the skies with high waves, and yet the waters of the seven oceans reached only the point of the nail of his feet ; the point of whose tusk was a cottage in which were placed the three worlds as a drop of water; the rays from whose hairpits (?) were like Brahmāṇḍas (Brahmā's eggs).

2. O Heramba ! mayest thou be propitious to me, thou who art the asylum of the collections of the smelling organs of the bees, attracted by the growing scent of the masses of opening buds of the Mogra entangled in thy long tresses ; thou who art the seat of the intense splendour of that lustrous tooth: the unparalleled majesty of which (splendour) completely extinguishes that of the teeth of the .

3. May Sarasvatī ever reside in my mouth ! she who is like a mother ; who nourishes as it were with the waves of the ocean of milk ; who is fair, as if created by the moon ; and like a white statue, made of balls of rubbed sandalwood.

4. Achintendravarā, the disciple of Advayāmṛita Yati, the chief of the Bhāradvāja gotra ; intimately familiar with the ceremonial of the Vedas ; a prominent character, and the son of Śrī Ramesvara Dīkshita, praises with zeal (or at the request of the Yati?) the genealogy of the good Rudranaresvara.

5. In the Kākatīya race was born a king named Śrīmat Tribhuvana Malla, a chief among kings who reduce the wives of their powerful enemies to widowhood.

6. Śrī Malla-deva (i. e. Tribhuvana Malla) shone with

splendour in the three worlds, a frontal ornament of the assembly of the Kákatya kings ; a source of agony to his enemies ; a daily giver of wealth to proper objects ; a giver of delight to the hearts of women ; an uprooter of the masses of the wicked ; a worshipper of the brilliant lotus of the feet of Siva ; who has reduced kings to submission.

7. His son became distinguished as Proll-rája, the seat of the ambrosia of contemplation of the pair of lotuses of Siva's feet. The spoiler of the prosperity (Saubhággya) of the beauties (wives) of his enemies, the destroyer of the pride of the chiefs of his enemies ; a lord of Lanká in respect to the pride of fighting without fear, in all directions.

8. He, in battle (Proll-rája), an elephant bound down in an instant, Śrímat Tailapa-deva, the head ornament of the Chálukyas, who was skilled in riding elephants, whose deep attention was continually directed to war, and who was like a lotus. He (Proll-rája), celebrated for cutting off the bulb of his enemies, in an instant released him (Tailapa) on being pleased with his faithfulness.

9. He also bound down and released Govinda-rája, skilful beyond comparison in hewing the face of the forces by the sharp edge of his irresistible battle-axe, and gave the kingdom to King Udaya. He (Proll-rája), invincible to hundreds of enemies, without pity, despoiler of (Govinda-rája) in the battle-field as if in sport, a master (or teacher) of the vows of heroes, this Proll-rája in anger attacked and shaved the

10. head of Gúdhala (?), the shameless lord of the great Mantra-kúta city, who bore the insignia of the boar on his breast, and who, when called on to fight by the king, ran away like a lamb to his city.

11. And, secondly, he (Proll-rája) resisted Jagaddeva, whose beauty was like that of a god on earth, and who, accompanied by many Mandalika-rájas, had laid siege to the city of Anumakonda, and who, being unable to accomplish his

object, retired in an instant. How is it possible to describe sufficiently the glory of the prosperous Prolī-rāja ?

12. His chief queen was Muppama, endowed with virtues, with fame like the moonlight in the Śarat season (October and November) ; with brilliant beauty beyond comparison ; virtuous like Kauśalyā and Jānakī, and great as Kuntī, Lakshmi, Paulomī (the wife of Indra) and Chandika.

13. Of her was born for the good of the world a son named Śrī Rudra-deva, a sprout of the chief bulb of supreme joy. Was he not Cupid himself ? was he not Skanda, the son of Śiva or Jayanta, or Jishnu (Indra), the holder of the Vajra (thunderbolt), or Hari, or as Aśvini Kumāra ? A humble devotee of Śrī Girisa.

14. This Rudra king, defeated—repeatedly compelled to fly away by hundreds of bright arrows, as if in sport, and as Arjuna defeated Karna—Doma, of exceedingly elegant prowess ; and practised in leading (*i. e.* riding) masses of tall and excellent cavalry ; and returned to his city, which contained everything that is remarkable.

15. [The transliteration of this verse is unsatisfactory, from imperfections in the copy, but I glean from it that Rudra-deva defeated Śrīmat Meliga-deva, ruler of a country called Śrīpalavāsa.]

16. The frightful mungoose Bhīma overcame the cobra named Gokarna, who boasted of his bravery, and was of low family. In that state he was instantly destroyed, just as a house-mouse would be killed in great darkness by a young cat.

17. The soul of Chodādyā-rāja, an ornament of his race, was frightened by the lustrous weapon of paralyzing fear produced from the prowess of Śrīmat Rudra (the king), and departed to the higher regions as if from madness or forgetfulness, as if pursued by the great Bhūta (spirits), as if from agony and confusion.

18. From sheer fright of the valorous king Śrī Rudra-

deva, King Tailapa was afflicted with diarrhoea and became emaciated. And although this resulted in death, Bhilma ventured to succeed to the fleeting royal dignity.

19. Just as a young jackall, surrounded by many younger ones, imagining himself to be a king, despises the rest of the world, and filling with his cries all the quarters, attempting to measure his strength with a lion, is nowhere at the fright of the shaking of the mane.

20. So Bhilma, the vilest of kings, a brute among men, the husband of his step-mother, who killed an eminent brother at dinner, intent upon attempts at swallowing the skies, ascended the point of the great peak of the mountain of pride,\* increased by envy, ventured to defy the terrible Sri Rudra-deva.

21. Thereon, Rudra-varesvara, hearing of the wealth of king Bhilma, and having heard of his wicked acts from secret agents (or emissaries), commenced to make preparations for a successful expedition. He who was never opposed by an enemy with all the lines of his forces, with the palas (?) all armed, with joy quickly proceeded for Sri.....  
.....At the time of marching on his successful expedition, and at the beating of the Bheri (drum), the excitement (1st. sorrow) produced from its sounds, the masses of clouds dropped down, the earth trembled, the mountains shook. Kúrma (the tortoise) was troubled ; Sesha (the serpent) became insensible ; the Diggajas (elephants of the eight quarters) became distressed.

22. During the king's progress on the occasion of the unparalleled battle, the rajas frenzied and looking in all directions, when their ears filled by the deep reverberations of the Bheri, began to tremble through fear. From the fear of Rudra-deva, abandoned their treasures and homes, their horses and elephants on the road, their relatives at half-way, their families in the forts.

The king, having rapidly advanced a few steps, and like the

pounding of corn, the fire of his anger intensified by the knitting of his eyebrows, performed a (*homa*) sacrifice by offering the ancient city of Vardhamāna as a first holocaust.

23. Bhīma was filled with terror at the sight of the king, as Bhīma (one of the *Pāṇḍavas*) was, at the sight of King Duryodhana (of the Kauravas) ; with trembling body, having abandoned everything, with his brother (or brothers), mother, and wife, shamelessly fled to the jungle.

24. The king pursued him, and burnt, as Hanuman burnt Lankā, the minor town of Chodādaya (or Bodādaya), (a chief) comparable to the city of the gods, beautiful by the amorous sports of numbers of women.

25. He cut down the jungle remarkable for its inaccessible entrances, and in the centre of the city he constructed a wonderful lake.

26. How is it possible to describe the heroism of Rudra-deva, the Lord of the earth ? the destroyer of the pride of the small family of Kshatriyas ; the possessor of the wealth of the whole world ; the main support of the wealth produced from the womb of the illustrious ocean of milk of the family of (King) Kandrādaya Chodavana (of the Choda dynasty), just as Rāma (Parasū Rāma) strung a line of enemies hewn by his battle-axe.

27. Seeing the march of the king's forces, the enemies fled, and the earth was pounded by the hoofs of high-prancing steeds, and the sky was filled by numbers of beautiful umbrellas, and the eight quarters were occupied by masses of Chāmaras beautiful like a number of full-moons.

28. Rājas, like Bhīma, living between Kāñchī-maṇḍala and to the Vindhya (mountain), of whom Rudra-deva was informed daily, having a vision of the assemblage of the wives of the immortals, fell into a trance for a long time, and, looking up for support, returned to King Rudra.

29. I praise the king Rudra. He made hundreds of wise men, the main vessel of his magnificence, and yet pride

was not permitted to enter his heart. The ocean making Sri Purushottama (Vishnu) a vessel of its wealth, wakens the earth by the noise of its waves.

[This verse is only one-half.]

30. The king conducts himself in this world like Satánanda (Brahmá', the latter being Nyagbhútskṛita-rája hansanikara, i.e. the one who has placed under him rows of royal geese (Brahmá's Váhana is represented as being carried by geese) ; the same adjective belongs to the former ; as one who placed royal geese (rájas) under him ; Brahma is Padmodbhavalkásraya, the chief support (of the world), born from the lotus ; the king is the same, as he is the chief support of the prosperity of Padma (the goddess of wealth), Brahmá is Kalpáklṛiptagati, one who is destined to live as long as the Kalpa ; the king is also Kalpáklṛiptagati, i. e. one having proper and certain knowledge.

31. Rudra is Kesava (Krishna) himself ; the former is Satyásaktamaná, i. e. one whose mind is intent on truth ; Kesava is the same, i. e. one whose mind is devoted to Satyá (i. e. to Satyabhámá, his wife). The one is Nirastanarakaklesaḥ, i. e. he who has removed the miseries of hell. Kesava is the same, one who removed the terrors of Narakásura. The one is Lakshmyásraya, the abode of Lakshmi (wealth ; the other, the support (husband) of Lakshmi.

The one is Prithvíbhṛita, the protector of the earth ; so is Kesava. The one is Anantabhoganilaya, the abode of infinite enjoyment ; so is Kesava, who sleeps on the body of the serpent Ananta. The one is ever Dvijendrapriyāḥ, the lover of the best of Brahmans ; so is Kesava, ever the friend of Dvijendra, the king of birds (garuda). The one is Dushṭarishṭa vimardanaḥ, the remover of evil calamities ; the other, the destroyer of the wicked Arishṭa (a giant). The one fulfils the wishes of the learned ; the other who grants the prayers of the gods (sumanasámbyarthitáarthaprada). The one

is gotraproddharana, i. e. one who raises his family to distinction ; the other raised gotra (the Govardhana hill). The one is Sudarsanadharana, i. e. he who holds good doctrines or who looks excellent ; the other is the holder of Sudarsana, wheel or disc.

32. Rudra-deva appears beautiful with the numerous rows of neck-laces of the pearls (drops) dropping from the forehead of the tall elephants in the incomparable battle-field ; he shone like heaps of the petals of blue lotuses, like the beautiful eyes of the wife (Psyche) of Cupid, the god who was in terror of Rudra's (Śiva's) anger.

33. Whilst Rudra-deva ruled over the earth, the title of Rāja was given only to the moon, not to the greatest among men. Roughness existed only in the Chandratilak, not in the rich. Brightness existed only in the sun, not in the multitude of enemies. The catching of hair was confined to the act of copulation (not in fighting). The holding of sticks was confined to Yatis (ascetics); no *danda* or fine was exacted from the mass of the people. Disputation was confined to the Śāstras ( ) not in social intercourse. There was no *mathana* (punishing) of the wicked ; it was reserved only for the Arni wood (by rubbing which, fire is produced for the Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices).

34. The extent of his charity was limited only by the relief of poverty ; of his might, by the destruction of his enemy ; of his wisdom, by that of four-faced (Brahmā) ; of his good qualities, by infinitude ; of his brightness, by the heating of the sun ; of his fame by the three worlds. His attention to Dharma was without limit, and his mind was brilliant.

35. Ocean ! although thou art spread everywhere ; although thou art exalted ; although thou art the single support of the great ; although thou art the birthplace of Śrī (wealth) ; although thy heart is inclined to favour ; although thou art the abode of gems, yet thou wert drunken by the

pitcher-born (Agasti) and became Sattith. But the king Rudra (to whom the adjectives applied to the ocean are also applicable) is not as thou art ; and vainly do not try to rival him.

36. Verily Rudra-deva was formed by the lotus-born (Brahmá-deva), selecting with joy—literally, from the Kalpa Vriksha ; greatness from him of Golden-body's peak (Meru mountain) ; courage from the son of Dasaratha (Ráma) ; strength, from Purabhida (Indra) ; gaiety (or depth) from the ocean ; beauty from him with the (Dragon) Makara flag (Cupid) ; love of learning from the teacher<sup>4</sup> of the Suras (Brihaspati).

37. The moon at present appears beautiful as the lily in his ocean of milk of success. The sun appears like the expanded lotus ; the moving cloud (*lit.* sky) like the blue lotus ; the stars, like clear bubbles ; the quarters, like the coast ; the three worlds, like the series of waves. And how wonderful ! Success to Sri Rudra-deva !

38. Imagine that to the successful prosperity approaching the victorious Rudra-deva, and to the fame proceeding from him to the distant quarters across the stream of blood, having flesh for shining mud, the fallen heads of enemies cut off by the sword in battle served as stepping stones ; and the spasmodic (*lit.* dancing) headless bodies served as little boats.

39. His city named Anumakonda is like the capital of the goddess of wealth, and prospers from the sword and battle-axe residing there permanently. It is rati-matī (beloved) like the city of Cupid, which is rati-matī (having Psyche in it) and full of *Śringāra* (gay life). Like the city of the great Indra with Jishnu, Vishnu (Anumkonda having temples of Jishnu and Vishnu) and the sports of Rambhā (Rambhā vilāsa) whilst Anurkonda had Rambhā vilāsa, i. e., abundance of plantain trees.

40. In it women are Makaraketu's (Cupid's) favourite residence (*lit.* capital city), whose eyes are like the petals of the full blue lily, whose bodies are spare, and who are the frontal ornaments of the most beautiful women in the three worlds, and who are bowed down by high and full breasts.

41. Where in the houses of the chief of the twice-born, the parrots, though prevented, commit to memory, along with the little boy, the Vedas, with all their Angas and all their deliberations with their Padas and Krama, and which (the Vedas) are the objects of study by the virtuous.

42. Where the five words of young parrots 'picked up from expressions dropt during amatory intercourse, and which (words) are like the full moon to the tempestuous ocean of the excitement of desire of gallants in the habitations of harlots, are in daytime heard in all directions.

43. The body of cavalry of Sri Rudra-deva does not jump across the sky, only because it is the footmark (Pada) of Vishnu. It does not touch the earth with its feet, because it (the earth) is a god (cow). It fills all the quarters in the battle-field by its prancing; threatening the enemies every day, it causes them to fly and slays them.

44. His horses were of beautiful make, of low voice, and possessed of all the illustrious qualities mentioned in the various treatises on the horse, with a body full of agility and strength, hardy and trained in the five kinds of paces.

45. His extensive dominions, reached the shores of the ocean (*lit.* salt sea) and to the Sri Saila mountains in the south, as far as the western countries, as far as Katak (in the east). On the north, as far as the fine country of Mālyavanta (the country in the neighbourhood).

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## TRANSCRIPT OF RUDRA-DEVA'S INSCRIPTION

श्रीं स्वस्ति श्रीर्विजयोभ्युदयश्च भवतु । स्वस्ति समधिगत-  
 पंचमहाभद्रमहामण्डलेश्वर अक्षकुण्डापुरवरेश्वरपरमभाहे-  
 श्वरपतिहितचरितविनयविभूषणश्रीमन्महामण्डलेश्वरकाक-  
 तीयरुद्रदेवराज्यविजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्धमानमा-  
 चन्द्रार्कतारमुगाभ्यर्चकोडपट्टनमुनंदुसुखसंकथाविनोदंभुनराज्यं  
 तुषेयुचुनुण्ड अक्षवर्षमुत्तु १०६४ वनेटिचित्रभानुसंवत्सरमापुख  
 १२ वद्ववारमुनांहुतनगिररुद्रेश्वरमुनुश्रीवासदेवरश्रीसूर्यदे-  
 वरानुप्रतिष्ठासेपिंसे ॥

यस्योत्तुङ्गतंरंगताडितविवत्सपार्णवीथं जलं पादांगुष्ठमस्त्रा-  
 भद्रममवधूभूढलोहारणे ॥ दंष्ट्राकोटिकुटोरकोटरगतं त्रैलोक्य-  
 मयमविंदुवद्वद्राण्डादव रोमकन्दरकरा वंदे वराहं हरिं ॥  
 १ ॥ श्रीहरेस्त्वविलम्बिकुन्तलमिलम्बलोदलकुङ्कुमलप्रातोभृ-  
 क्षितगन्धकुम्भधुपघ्राणोत्सारस्यास्यदं । स्फोटप्रोतमनाभवज-  
 मिह मे दिग्दन्तिदन्तद्युति प्रोक्षामोदलनैकविभ्रमलसहंताति-  
 काण्ढाश्रयः ॥ २ ॥ मातेव दुग्धलहरीभिरुदंचतीव दुग्धोद-  
 चेरनतदीप्तिनिर्क्षितेव । श्रीखण्डपिण्डपरिपाण्डुरपुत्तलीव  
 वक्त्रेवसलविरतं तु सरस्वती नः ॥ ३ ॥ भारद्वाजकुलश्रियः  
 परिहृष्टः श्रोतस्त्रिवाकशैठः श्रीरामेश्वरदीक्षितोजनयिता यस्य  
 श्रिवावग्रयोः । सोचिन्तेन्द्रवरोदवांस्तवतेः शिष्यीयतेः अह-  
 वा श्रीमद्गुह्यनरेश्वरस्य सुमतेर्वंशावलिं वर्णये ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीमत्  
 त्रिभुवनमहो राजा काकत्यवंशसंभूतः । प्रवक्षरिपुवर्गनारी-  
 वैद्यव्यविषादकाचार्यः ॥ ५ ॥ श्रीकाकत्यनरेन्द्रवन्दितलको

वैरीन्द्रस्तपकः सत्यामे वसुदायकः प्रतिदिनं कामाननीर-  
 षकः । दुष्टानां च वदूषकः पुरन्दरः श्रीपादपद्मार्चको न्यग-  
 भूतीकृतनायकस्त्रिभुवने श्रीमन्नदिवो बभौ ॥६॥ तत्पुत्रः शिव-  
 पादपद्मयुगलध्यानावनामन्दभू शुष्ठाकोरिपुसन्दरीजन मन्त्रा-  
 सोभागप्रसंपच्छिबः । प्रोक्षीराज इति प्रसिद्धिमग्नवैरीन्द्र-  
 र्पापहो निःशंकप्रधनप्रबन्धनमन्त्राङ्कारकंकीर्णरः ॥७॥ इत्य-  
 रोहकर्मकर्मठगतिं चाशुक्लबूटानधिं चञ्चलुचनिबन्धनदूर-  
 मतिं युद्धे बबन्धच्छपात् । श्रीमत्तैलपदिवमधुजमिव स्तम्बेर-  
 मस्तं क्षणात्प्रक्षयातोरिपुकण्ठखण्डनविधौ भक्त्यातुराणाञ्जहौ  
 ॥ ८ ॥ श्रीकुण्डोरिपतैरकुण्ठपरशुकञ्चाग्रधारोक्षसारापा  
 तनिपातनैकचतुरं (गो) विन्दराजाध्वं । बध्नीकृत् तद्दोह्य  
 क्षितिभूते राज्यं इहो श्रीकृष्ण शुष्ठाकोविद्वक्ष्य तस्य समरे  
 वहीरहीच्छाशुषः ॥ ९ ॥ ब्रुहेनोसुरमन्त्रबूटनगरीनावस्तु श्री  
 निस्त्रयो गूढः खण्डितएव मुण्डितधिराः श्रीडांकवक्ष्यस्यः ।  
 एष्टोडिक्कवत्पञ्चावनपरो जातो गतः स्त्रां पुरीमाहूतोपि  
 नृपेश्वरस्य पुरतः प्रोक्षेन युद्धाव जत् ॥ १० ॥ अन्यश्चाशुभ-  
 कोष्ठनामनगरौ संवेष्ट्य वीर्यं क्षितौ नानामण्डलिकान्वितौ  
 भुवि जगद्देवस्तद्विप्रमः ॥ स्तब्धस्तमितएव कार्यकारणेवक्ताः  
 क्षणान्निर्गत श्रीमत्प्रीतनृपस्य तस्य जविनः किं ब्रूमहे गौर-  
 वं ॥ ११ ॥ द्वीसुष्पमनामधेवसहिता ब्रह्माशुषाः सारकाः  
 कीर्त्तिः शारदचन्द्रिकेव विद्यमन्नाम्नोस्तु नैवीपमा ॥ कौमर्येव च  
 जानकीव चरतीकुम्भीव पद्मेव वा पौष्पोमोवचचञ्चिकेव च वरा  
 तस्याभवद्भामिनी ॥ १२ ॥ तस्यास्तस्य सुतो जनीह परमानन्दै-

कर्कशांशुरः कामः किं नक्षत्रवरः शिवसुतः स्कंदो जयंतीषवा ॥  
 जिष्णुर्वज्रधरोष वा हरिरयं दक्षो कुमारो नतो भक्तः श्री-  
 गिरिषे हिताय जगतः श्रीरुद्रदेवो नृपः ॥ १३ ॥ त्वंगत्तुङ्गतु-  
 रंगपुङ्गवचवारोहक्रमे कर्मठंछोमं चारुपराक्रमक्रमभरं भंत्-  
 कासङ्गहोषवा । कर्णं पार्थद्वामक्षैः शरशतैर्विद्राव्य विद्राव्य  
 योक्षिभेसर्वविषेययुक्तनगरग्रामं सरुद्रो नृपः ॥ १४ ॥ ...विडंबि-  
 ष्वंवरभरक्षोदक्षमं क्षामतां दुर्वारोदुरवीरमितससयादानैक-  
 होषाशुभं । श्रीमन्मेखिगद्विसंगसमयप्रोद्धूतैर्पापहं प्राप्त-  
 औपस्यवासद्वेषविभवश्रीरुद्रदेवः सदा ॥ १५ ॥ भूमेन भीम-  
 नकुक्षेन कुक्षेन क्षीनो ग्रस्तो ममार गृहमूषकवत् क्षणेन ।  
 भार्जारिडिक्कवरेण महान्धकारे गोकर्णनामभुजगो भुवि  
 शूरमानी ॥ १६ ॥ श्रीमद्रुद्रपराक्रमोद्धवभयव्यामोहनाख्यो-  
 लसच्छस्त्रस्तसमस्तगोत्रविलसच्छोडादयस्त्रापतेः । उच्चान्ता  
 इव विष्णुता इव महाभूताभिभूता इव प्रोद्भान्ता इव संकुला  
 इव तदा प्राणाः प्रवातादिवं ॥ १७ ॥ यातेपि तैश्चपनृपे दिव-  
 मस्य भीत्या सर्वातिसारकवलीकृतगात्रयष्टी । श्रीरुद्रदेवनृपतेः  
 पृथुविक्रमस्य भीमोपि राज्यपदवीं क्षणिकां स क्षेमे ॥ १८ ॥  
 एकोजस्युकडिक्काकोल(षु)तरैः संवे(ष्टि)तोऽंजुक्कै राजाहं कति-  
 धिक्कृतक्षितितक्षिंहैः संसर्षते । फिल्लाराकुलगर्जितैर्मुख  
 रजन्ध्रवादिभ्योविभूक्षो वातः क्षापि सटाविधूननभरैः कंठीरव-  
 व्यातुरः ॥ १९ ॥ तद्वज्रीमनूपाधमोनरपशुर्मातुः सपत्न्याः पति-  
 र्हन्ता भ्रातृवरस्य भोजनविधौ भीमेन संसर्षते । आकाशप्रसम  
 प्रवाहनिरतः श्रीरुद्रदेवेन यस्यर्वावर्द्धितगर्वपर्वतमहामृत्पात्र-

मारोहति ॥ २० ॥ श्रुत्वा भीमनृपस्य राज्यविभवं चारैश्च दुष्टे-  
 ष्टितं श्रीमद्गुह्यदेश्वरोय विजयप्रारब्धसञ्चारभाक् । जातो  
 जातरिपुः समग्रपुतनामालापनीयो ततः सद्यस्त्वज्जपज्ञान्वितः  
 प्रमुदितः शीघ्रं स्थितिनिर्गतः ॥ २१ ॥ वस्योद्यद्दिजवप्रवाण-  
 समर्थं गङ्गीरभेरीभरद्वाङ्कारोद्धवसंभ्रमव्यतिकरव्याजृम्भाणीहे  
 गतः । भ्रष्टान्धभचया चक्षुःश्रवणयो भ्राम्यन्धमी भ्रूधराः  
 जूर्मस्तान्यति मुह्यति । हरसनः कुल्यन्तिदिक्कुल्लराः ॥ २२ ॥  
 कोशान् गीहेष्वमुन्मथयिकरितुरगान् बान्धवानर्द्धमार्गे दुर्गे-  
 श्वन्तःपुराणि प्रतिरवचकिता रुद्रदेवस्य भीत्या । वस्योद्योगी  
 भ्रमन्तः समसमयसमारब्धगङ्गीरभेरीभाङ्काराकीर्णकणज्वरभ-  
 रतरलाः प्रेक्षितायाः क्षितीयाः ॥ २३ ॥ गत्वा जवाक्षिचतु-  
 राणि पदानि राजा सस्यस्य खड्गमिव प्रथमाधुतिं वा । भ्रू-  
 भङ्गवीक्षणविवर्द्धितक्रोधवह्नीं वदार्द्धमाननगरों प्रथमां जुहाव  
 ॥ २४ ॥ यस्याक्षिवीक्षणभयाक्षकितकभीमो दुर्वोधनस्य नृप-  
 तेरिव विह्वलाङ्गः । स्वभ्रातृमातृवनितासहितः समग्रलक्ष्मीं  
 विहाय वनमेव ययौ विलज्जः ॥ २५ ॥ तत्पृष्ठतोनुच जगाम  
 दहाह राजाचो(वो)डादयस्त्र नगरौभगरोयसो तां । लक्ष्मा-  
 भिवामरपुरीसदृशीं नृगाक्षीश्रेणीविलासलक्षितामिव चांजने-  
 यः ॥ २६ ॥ लुलाव च वनं तस्य दुर्गमार्गलविभ्रमं । तडाग-  
 भकरोत्तत्र पुरमध्येकृतं महत् ॥ २७ ॥ कंदूरादयचोडवंश-  
 विलसत्क्षीरक्षिगभीष्टवत्पद्मैकाग्रचरुद्रदेवनृपतेः किं वर्ण्यते  
 विग्रहः । सुद्रुष्टावकुलीकृतिश्चयकृतः सर्वावनिश्रीभृतो राम-  
 स्येव कुठारखण्डितरिपुव्रातस्य (प्रोतस्य) पृथ्वीपतेः ॥ २८ ॥

रङ्गसुहृतरङ्गपुङ्गवसुरसुतं जगन्मण्डलं ज्योत्स्नोक्तासि सदा-  
 पन्निकरव्याप्तं मधोमण्डलं । पूर्णं दूत्तरचासचामरचवैर्दृष्ट-  
 मण्डलं संभृतं इहाद्यैव्यविनिर्गमं नरपतिः प्रादुर्दुवुः शत्रवः ॥ २८ ॥  
 कांचीमण्डलविध्यमध्यनिखया भीमादृष्टः पार्थिवायस्य ओज-  
 पथं गता अहरहः श्रीसुहृदेवस्य ते । इहैवानिमिषा बभूवुर-  
 मरोवर्गान् समर्थांश्चिरं प्रत्यावृत्त्य तमेव सुहृदपतिं प्राप्ताः  
 शरव्यार्थिनः ॥ ३० ॥ सुहं स्तोमि नरेश्वरं बुधपतान्येकत्रिधां  
 भाजनं कृत्वा तस्य कदापि चेतसि सदाशङ्कां न संक्रामति ।  
 एकः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं कलकलैः कृत्वा त्रियोभाजनं वीचीनां कुरु-  
 तीक्ष्णापि वसुधासुज्जागरां सागरः ॥ ३१ ॥ न्यम्भूतीकृतराज-  
 चङ्कनिकरः पद्मोद्भवैकाग्र्यः कल्याणप्राप्तगतिः क्षिताविह यता-  
 मन्दत्यवं पार्थिवः । सत्यासक्तमना निरस्तनरकक्षेपश्च लक्ष्मणा  
 श्वः पृथ्वीभृद्यदमस्तभोगनिखयः शश्वद्दिजेन्द्रप्रियः ॥ ३२ ॥  
 दुष्टारिष्टविमर्हिनः समनसामभ्यर्थितार्थप्रदो गोत्रप्रोदरपणः सुद-  
 र्शनधरो सुहः स्ववं ज्ञेयवः ॥ ३३ ॥ असमसमरसङ्गोत्तुङ्गमा-  
 तङ्गकुक्ष्यस्त्रविगणितसुक्ताहारभाराभिरामः । भवभवभव-  
 भाखो भामिनीमव्यनेत्रोत्पलदलचयभूषः (पः) शोभते सुहृदेवः  
 ॥ ३४ ॥ अजिन् प्रशस्तिमह्यौ भुवि सुहृदेवे राजाभिधा  
 यधिमिमेव करोतमेषु । अक्षसमिन्दुतिक्तो न घनाकुक्षेषु तेज-  
 क्षिता दिग्गरे नच पात्रवेषु ॥ ३५ ॥ ज्ञेयशश्वसुरतसङ्गरसं-  
 भनेषु दण्डशस्त्रोद्यतिषु नैव जनोक्तरेषु । शास्त्रैर्विवाहकथनं  
 व्यवहारं नो न क्वापि दुष्टमकनं कथनं करण्यं ॥ ३६ ॥ हानं  
 दैव्यवराभकावधि रिपुच्छेदावधिर्विश्रमश्चाप्तुर्थ्यं चतुराननावधि

गुणग्रामस्तुसंख्यावधिः । तेजोभास्करतापनावधि ययोराधिस्तु  
 रुद्रस्य यस्मै लोकाग्रमणावधिर्निर्वधधर्ममतिः शोभते ॥ ३७ ॥  
 प्राप्ताशोपि महत्तरोपि महतानेकाग्र्योपि श्रियो जन्मस्थान-  
 मपि प्रसन्नहृदपि त्वं रत्नधामापि सन् । पीतः कुञ्जसमुद्भवेन  
 जलधिः । सारसमुद्रोद्यतो नैवं रुद्रनरेश्वरोयममुना सखा  
 वृषा माक्रुषाः ॥ ३८ ॥ श्रीदार्श्र्यं सुरशाखिनः शिखरिणः  
 स्वर्णाकृतेगौरवं चैवं द्वाग्रयेवैवं पुरभिदो गाक्षीर्यमशोनिधेः ।  
 सौन्दर्यं मकरध्वजात् सुरगुरोर्विद्यारती कौतुकादादावाब्ज-  
 समुद्भवेन रचितः श्रीरुद्रदेवो ध्रुवं ॥ ३९ ॥ स्फावत्कैरवतीं  
 दुरंजुजपतिस्रष्टांजुजलम्बरं लोखं नीलसरोजति स्फुटयशोदुग्धो  
 दधौ संप्रति । ज्योतींषि स्फुटबुद्बुद्वन्तिहरितः कूलान्ति लोका-  
 स्त्रयश्चक्षुर्हीचिचवन्ति यस्मै जयति श्रीरुद्रदेवोद्धतं ॥ ४० ॥  
 पादव्यासशिखाशिखांसि समरे कृतानि खड्गिन यच्छूष्णां  
 पतितानि मांसविलसत्पङ्केषु यके ह्यहं । रक्तस्रोतसि रुद्रदेव  
 जविनो नृत्यत्कबन्धाः प्लवा आयाग्या विजयश्रियश्चासविधंकीर्तिः  
 प्रयात्या दिशः ॥ ४१ ॥ तस्मास्तेनुमकोण्डनामनगरी श्रीराज-  
 धानीव वा यत्रोद्यत्सदखण्डखण्डपरशुव्याज्जृम्भणोज्जृम्भिता ।  
 कन्दर्पस्य पुरीव सा रतिमती शृङ्गारभारान्विता माहेन्द्रीव च  
 जिष्णुविष्णुसहिता रक्षा विलासोर्जिता ॥ ४२ ॥ यत्र स्त्रियो  
 मकरकेतनराजधान्य आनीलनीरजपलाशदृशः कृष्णांगः । त्रै-  
 लोकासुन्दरदृशां तिलकायमाना आपीनतुङ्गकुचकुम्भभराश-  
 षांगः ॥ ४३ ॥ यत्र द्विजेन्द्रभवनेषु निवासीमाणाः कौराः  
 पठन्ति पटवो बटुभि समेताः । सर्वाङ्गसङ्गतसमस्तविचारचा-

रत्नारिद्रचर्चितपद्ममयुक्तवेदान् ॥ ४४ ॥ वेष्म्याग्रहेषु सुरतो-  
 त्सवजातचेष्टायन्द्धानुकारिशुक्रधावकचारुग्रन्थाः । सर्व्वदिशो  
 मुखरयन्ति दिवा विटानां कन्दर्पेर्दपंतरक्षार्णवपूर्णचन्द्राः ॥ ४५ ॥  
 नातिक्लामति वैष्णवं पदमिति द्यां गौरितिक्लाममिमां पादै-  
 स्प्रच्छति नो तुरङ्गमचयः श्रीरुद्रदेवस्त्वयः । सर्व्वीयाः परि-  
 पूरयन्विजयते नृत्येन संभोषयच्छूद्रन्युद्धमहीतले प्रतिदिनं  
 विद्रावयन्मारयन् ॥ ४६ ॥ अतिरमण्यरीराद्यैश्च नीचस्वराढ्याः  
 सकलतुरगयास्त्रोद्भासिसकलक्षणाढ्याः । जवभरभरिताङ्गाः स-  
 लसंपन्नगात्रा अतिचिरतरजीवाः पञ्चधारास्तुरङ्गाः ॥ ४७ ॥  
 राज्यं प्राच्यं लवणजलधेस्तीरपर्यन्तमस्त्र औशैलान्तां प्रच-  
 रति सदादक्षिणायां समग्रां । प्रातीच्यान्तां कटकनिकटस्था-  
 यिनीं राज्यलक्ष्मीः कौबेर्यायातटविलसिते माख्यवन्तप्रदेशे ॥  
 ४८ ॥ अर्धनार्यमिहदन्तवाक्महन्नन्दिचेरुवलनामखेटकं । श्री  
 महेश्वरविश्वीरिणे स्मिरं रुद्रदेवमृपतिर्मतस्ततां ॥ ४९ ॥

## XVII.

*Revised Translation of the Inscription on the Bhutari Lid.*

THE destroyer of all kings, an unsurpassable warrior in the world, whose victory is saturated by the four seas ; comparable to Dhanadava, Varuna, Indra, Antaka ; whose battle-axe is deadly ; the giver of crores of gold (pieces) and of innumerable cows affording hundreds of benefits ; the performer of the Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice) neglected for a long time : the great-grandson of Mahārāja Śrī Gupta ; the grandson of Mahārāja Śrī Ghatotkacha ; the son of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta ; the son of Lichchhavi's daughter ; born of Mahādevī Kumāradevī, (was) Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta ; his son, born of his married wife Mahādevī (Queen) Datta-Devī (was) Mahāpratiratha (the great unsurpassable warrior), Parama Bhāgavata (the eminent devotee of Bhagavāna[God]), Mahārājādhirāja (the great king of kings) Śrī Chandragupta (2nd) his son, intent on his (father's) feet, was born of Mahādevī (Queen) Dhruva-Devī Parama Bhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kumāra Gupta, whose talent and natural strength became renowned ; whose glory is great ; the son of this great lord of this earth was by name Skandagupta, whose wealth was like that of the gods : on the lotus of whose feet lay hundreds of hostile kings, whose glory is extensive ; the lord of the earth ; powerful in the strength of his arms in the world ; an unparalleled hero in the gupta dynasty, whose great glory is spread in all directions ; who by his good qualities suffered not the virtuous state of the righteous to be destroyed, and caused his soul ..... ..to attain (a high state ?) ; who gradually, by great strength, eminent virtues, prowess, and by daily fighting battles, having obtained all he wished of the enemies intent upon gaining victory [unintelligible], bent upon re-establishing the lost prospects of the family, made the ground his bed for three months, and having taken (Pushya) mitra, whose strength and treasures

had been eminently on the increase, he placed (his) left foot on the seat of the feet of kings (i.e. he conquered other kings). By those who attack with impetuosity, and by those the prowess of whose arms is annihilated .....by mercy and bravery. Whose life of pure (white) glory is duly sung with joy by young and old in all quarters. Who conquered his enemies by the prowess of his arms. Who, after his father went to heaven. He recovered the lost wealth of the kingdom, as Krishna, after destroying his enemies, approached (his mother) Devaki, with joy he repaired to his mother, who was full of tears, to say that he had conquered .... Having repaired the ruined Upendra-chalita (a temple of Vamana, an incarnation of Vishnu) : with his two arms, having conquered the earth, and having shown daily mercy to the distressed ; whose beauty was every day like that of the full moon, was neither filled with pride nor with despair. The community of Ariyas entertained him with songs, praises, and hundreds of poems.....In battle, had come to fight with Hūnas ?—with both arms and trembling of the earth created fearful whirlpools.....arrows to enemies ..... distinguished.....in the ear, the sound of the Ganges... .....father's fame.....with ingenuity.....the image of Śāringana Vishnu was made by Supratita? Having established this image of Vishnu here, he whose government is fully established, for the increase of the merits of his father, gave this village (in charity). This image of Bhagavāna to whom here (?).....Both were given by the meritorious Skandagupta for the increase of the merit of his father.

वर्धराजोक्तं: इतिष्ठावमतिरवक्ष्य चतुर्दशविंशतिरवक्ष्य दितवक्ष्ये वमद्व-  
 र्धराजोक्तं.....स्तान्मपरयोः अथवतामेवगोहिरण्यप्रदस्य विरोक्ष्वाह-  
 मेवाकर्तुर्मेवाराजजीह्वमपीमस्य वहाराजजीह्वमपीमस्य वहाराजाधि-  
 राजजीह्वमपीमस्य विष्णुपिदोहिमस्य वहादेव्यां वहादेव्याद्वलवक्ष्य  
 वहाराजाधिराजजीह्वमपीमस्य इत्येतत्परिच्छेदो वहादेव्यान्त देव्याह-

त्यज—नृपतिरय—परमभागवतनृपराजाधिराजनीवन्मृगयन्तः पुनस्तथा-  
हा हृष्यातो नृपदेव्यां भूदेव्यास्तत्पुनः परमभागवतनृपराजाधिराजनीवन्मृगय-  
न्तस्तथा

प्रथितदृष्टवतिः सभापञ्चलैः

दृष्टवन्तः दृष्टिवीपतिः (हृष्यन्ती)

(दिष्टवन्) यतपादपञ्चवर्ती

प्रथितवन्तः दृष्टिवीपतिः सुतोऽम्

जनति भुजवन्तः पुनर्नैकवीरः

प्रथितविष्टवन्तः नायतस्तत्पुनः

सुचरितचरितानां येन हृष्येन हृष्ये

न विष्टवन्तस्तथा... ..

(विष्टवन्) नृपतुनीनैर्पिष्टवन्तः नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

प्रतिष्ठितवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

सन्निवृत्तवन्तः नृपेन नृपेन

वाङ्मयानवनी निमित्तं हि जनेष्वर्तेषु ज्ञत्वा ह्यनं  
 नोत्तिष्ठो नच निश्चितः प्रतिदिनं (पूर्वोन्मत्ता) नद्युति-  
 क्तु(नै)वंस्य सजागतस्य सजदे दोष्यां धराकम्पितै-  
 र्भीजावसंकरस्य यत्पुत्रं धर.....  
 .....प्रख्यापितोर्वी ...  
 .....तस्य...योनिषु शाङ्गध्वनि. ...  
 ...पितुः कौत्सि .....  
 ...प्रतिजाकाचित्यप्रतिजा तस्य शार्ङ्गिण्यः सुप्रतीतचकारेभा-  
 .....  
 ...ह चेनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठितशासनः  
 पानमेनं स विदधे पितुः पुण्याभिदृष्टये  
 जतो भगवतोऽर्चुर्तिनिषां यथात्म (र्जित)   
 उभवं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुण्याव पुण्याधीरिति ।

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## XVIII.

*Revised Inscription on the Delhi " Iron " (Metal ) Pillar at  
Kootub Minar, with Remarks.*

HE, on whose arm glory is written with the sword, when he repeatedly turned back his combined enemies in the battle-field in the Vangas (Bengal?); who, having swum across the seven mouths of the Sindhu (Indus), conquered the Bálhikas in battle, the breezes of whose prowess still waft incense to the South Sea ; who, having left the earth (go) as if in sorrow, resorted to the other go (heaven); who went to the land of his deserts (actions) with his (bodily) form, but with his glory remained on this earth ; who destroyed the remnant of his enemies ; whose heroism, like a great smouldering fire in a great jungle, does not yet leave the earth ; and who by the prowess of his arms secured in this world an incomparable empire for a long time ; whose countenance was beautiful like the full moon ; this Lord of the earth, named Chandra, having by means of faith in Vishnu fixed his mind, erected this tall flag-post of Bhagavána Vishnu in Vishnupada-giri (the hill of Vishnu's feet).

*Transliteration into Sanskrit of the Revised Facsimile of the  
Inscription on the Delhi " Iron " or Metal Pillar.*

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपस्य (इवः) यत्नम् समेत्यागता-  
न्मन्त्रेष्वाहवर्त्तमानोपि लिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भजे  
तीर्त्वा समस्तजानि तेन सगरे सिन्धोर्विस्ता वासिष्ठका  
यस्याद्यान्विषास्यते जलनिधिर्नीचीनिर्द्वैर्द्विष्टः  
खिन्नश्चैव निवृत्त्य गां नरपतेर्गाभान्नितस्तेतरां  
कृत्वा कर्त्तृचित्तवर्नि गतवतः कीर्त्ता खितस्य, चित्तो  
यान्तश्चैव सङ्घातने छतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो बद्धा-  
वाद्यान्मृत्कजति प्रवाधितरिपो बल्लक रोधः चित्तो-

प्राप्ते न सभुजार्जितस्य सुचिरं चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ  
 चंद्राक्षे न सभयचंद्रसदृशो बभूवित्यं विख्याता  
 तेनार्थं प्रविधाव ब्रूमिपतिना भावेन विष्णौ क्षतिं  
 प्राप्नुविष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वं जस्तापितः

REMARKS.—I examined the so-called "Iron" Pillar or *Lat* at Delhi in 1862. I am satisfied that iron forms no portion of the monument, and that it is a compound of several metals. It is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet above the ground, and 5 feet 3 inches in circumference.

I consider the transliteration and translation published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (vol. vii., pp. 629-31) as materially incorrect. There is no such name as Dhava, who has hitherto been supposed to be the prince who erected the pillar in commemoration of his prowess. Mr. E. Thomas, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays (vol. i., p. 318), observes that "the hero of this record remains for the present unidentified with any potentate named in local annals, or with any sovereign whose place in history might be determined approximately from numismatic associations."

I have no doubt that the name of the Rájá who constructed the pillar is Chandra Rájá. He appears to me to be of the Nerwar kings, whose coins are described by General Cunningham in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (No. III. of 1865). Amongst the coins delineated is one which has the name "Chandra" on it. General Cunningham, however, supposes this "Chandra" to be Chandragupta of a later date.

But amongst the coins of the Chandraguptas there is none bearing any great similarity to this coin. And as the name is simply "Chandra," there are no good grounds for adding "gupta" to it.

As the inscription is short, consisting only of six lines, I have but few remarks to make.

The character of the letters engraved shows them to be later than the time of the Guptas. The cross line across the top of each letter is only seen after the time of the Guptas. The letters correspond most to the inscriptions of the Maukharī dynasty, on two *viḥāras* or caves in Behar, viz. those of Ananta Varmā at Nāgārjuna and Bārābara. These inscriptions have also been revised, and a more accurate decipherment and translation will be submitted. The letter Va is similar to Ba.

The alphabet belongs in my opinion to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era.

It is difficult to make out where the temple of Vishṇu and the Vishṇupada-giri were situated, although in the Masjid or buildings around, there are stones which originally belonged to Jaina, Śaiva, and Vaiṣṇava temples of the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era.

My copy of the inscription differs in every line from the copy published in Prinsep's Journal. What is read as "Dhavana" is really "bhāvena." "Dhvaja" is really "bhuja," and what has been read "Chandrārkena" is "Chandrāvarena." The mistake arises from adding a curved stroke to the letter Vha, on the left side at the middle.

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## XIX.

*Brief Notes on the Age and Authenticity of the Works of  
A'ryabhata, Vardhamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhattotpala,  
and Bhāskurācharya.*

## I. A'RYABHATA.

THE name of this celebrated astronomer is written either A'ryabhata or A'ryabhata, but generally with one *t* only. In an old manuscript of the *Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta* of Brahmagupta, copied in Samvat 1678, or A.D. 1621, the name occurs about thirty-three times,\* and is invariably written A'ryabhata ; and a double *t* cannot be introduced without violating the A'rya metre. Bhatta Utpala, in his commentary on the *Varāha Saṁhitā*, cites a passage from *Varāha Mihira* as follows :—

सहस्रवारसमयं दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगाद् आर्यभटः ।

Here the word has only one *t*, and would not scan with two. This scholiast almost always writes, when quoting A'ryabhata, तथा आर्यभटः. In a commentary by *Somesvara* on the A'ryabhatīya Sūtra, of which the manuscript in my possession was copied about three hundred years ago, the name is spelt with only one *t* :

आचार्यार्यभटोक्त सूत्रविवृतिः ।

In a copy of the *Mahā A'ryasiddhānta*, dated Saka 1676, A.D. 1598, is the following line :—

द्व्यार्यभटप्रोक्तसिद्धान्ताद्यमहाकाशात् ।

Bhatta Utpala and *Somesvara* sometimes call him A'chāryabhata or A'chārya A'ryabhata ; Brahmagupta, in his

\* Colebrooke states that Brahmagupta cites A'ryabhata "in more than a hundred places by name." Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 475. He evidently includes citations or allusions by the learned commentator Chaturveda Prthū-daka Svāmin, whose commentary I regret I do not possess.

Siddhānta, chap. x. 62, *Aryāḷ*, and in chap. xxi. 40, *A'chā-ryabhata*. In his *Khaṇḍa Khādyā Karana*, copied Samvat 1783, he is called *A'chārya A'ryabhata*. In a commentary on it by *A'marāja* he is simply called *A'chāryabhata*. Hence it appears to me clear that the proper spelling of this name is *A'ryabhata*.

The works attributed to *A'ryabhata*, and brought to light by European scholars, are :—

An *A'ryasiddhānta* (*Mahā A'rya Siddhānta*), written, according to Bentley, in the year 4423 of the Kali Yuga, or A. D. 1322.\*

Another *A'ryasiddhānta*, called *Laghu*, a smaller work, which Bentley supposed was spurious,† and the date of which, as stated in the text, was interpreted to mean the year of the Kali Yuga 3623, or A. D. 522. Of both these works Mr. Bentley possessed imperfect copies. He assumed a comparatively modern work, attributed to *A'ryabhata*, and written in A. D. 1322, as the genuine *A'ryasiddhānta*, and, reasoning on this false premiss, has denounced as spurious the real and older work, and has, further, been led into the double error of condemning the genuine works of *Varāha Mihira*, *Brahmagupta*, *Bhāṭṭa Utpala*, and *Bhāskarāchārya*, containing quotations and references to the older work, as modern impostures, and of admitting as genuine a modern treatise (the *Jātakār-nava*) as the work of *Varāha Mihira*.

Colebrooke, not having the works of *A'ryabhata* before him, suggested that the older work might be a fabrication, but, from citations and references to *A'ryabhata* in the works of *Brahmagupta* and *Bhāṭṭa Utpala*, came to a singularly accurate conclusion as to the age of *A'ryabhata*, whose works he thought were different from either treatise in the possession of Bentley. "We shall, however," writes Cole-

\* *A Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*. London, 1825, p. 128.

† *Ibidem*, pp. 168, 169.

brooke, "take the fifth [century] of Christ as the latest period to which A'ryabhata can, on the most moderate assumption, be referred.\* In one place, indeed, Colebrooke correctly guesses that the Laghu A'rya Siddhanta is either the A'ryashtasata or the Dasagitikā.†

The following passage in the Mahā A'ryasiddhanta explains itself :—

इत्यार्यभट्टोक्तास्त्रिदशान्ताद्यन्वयाकाशात् ।

पाठिर्गतमुच्छेदं विधिधितं तन्मवा स्तोत्रया ॥

"That (knowledge) from the Siddhanta, propounded by A'ryabhata, which was destroyed, in recensions, by long time, I have, in my own language, thus specified."

In another copy, the verse commences differently, having *Vrddha* for *iti*; i.e. the first A'ryabhata is called *Vrddha* or old, whilst himself is the modern A'ryabhata.

Strange to say, the date corresponding to A. D. 1322, mentioned by Bentley, is not to be found in my copies. But I believe he was here, for once, correct.

In the first volume of the Transactions of the Madras Literary Society, a paper was published by Mr. Whish, evidently founded on the works of A'ryabhata senior. But, although Mr. Whish's paper is not available to me, I am positive he did not recognize his A'ryabhatīya Sūtra as the work of A'ryabhata senior.

Professor Lassen has some admirable remarks on A'ryabhata.‡ He observes : Of "A'ryabhata's writings we have the following. He has written a short outline of his system, in ten strophes, which composition he therefore called *Dasagtika* it is still extant.§ A more extensive work is the

\* Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. vol. ii. p. 477.

† Ibid. p. 467

‡ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii., p. 1136.

§ See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. ii. p. 467. To the friendly offices of Mr. Gaudert, a German missionary in India, I am indebted for a copy of this

*A'ryabhatasāra*, which, as the title informs us, contains eight hundred distichs, but has not yet been rediscovered. The mean between these works is held by the *A'ryabhatīya*, which consists of four chapters, in which the author treats of mathematics in one hundred and twenty-three strophes.\* In it he teaches the method of designating numbers by means of letters, which I shall mention again by and by. Besides, he has left a commentary on the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, which has been elucidated by a much later astronomer, and is, probably, the work called *Tantra* by Albirūnī.† This may be the same which was communicated to the Arabs, with two other Siddhāntas, during the reign of the Khalif *Almansūr*, (which lasted from A. D. 754 till 775), by an Indian astronomer who had come to his court, but of which only the book properly so called, i. e. that of *Brahmagupta*, had been trans-

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work, from a MS. in the possession of the Rājā of Kerkal, in Malabar. It is here called *Dasagitaku Sūtra*. I have also received from him a copy of the *A'ryabhatīya*.

\* C. M. Which names this work in the first dissertation mentioned in note 1, p 1134, as well as in the second : *On the Quadrature of the Circle*, etc., in Trans. of the Roy. As. Soc iii. p. 509. Also *Masūdi* and *Albirūnī* record it ; see *Reinaud's Memoire*, etc., pp 321 and 322.

† See *Wilson's Mackenzie Coll.* i. p. 119, No. v. The title is *Sūrya Siddhāntaprakāsa*, and it contains the *Sūtras* of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, with *A'ryabhatta's* commentary, and explanations of it by a later author of the sixteenth century. The work contains three chapters with the superscriptions: *Ganita*, i. e. Arithmetic, Algebra, and Geometry, *Kalahriya*, by which very likely the doctrine of the calculation of the great periods must be understood ; the title *Gola* of the third chapter designates the Globe, but is intended to denote Astronomy. *Albirūnī* mentions a *Tantra* of *A'rya bhatta* ; see *Reinaud's Memoire*, p. 385. In the commentary of *Paramadivara* on *A'ryabhatta's* explanation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (called *Sūrya Siddhānta-vyakhyāna*, and surnamed by the special title *Bhatīya-dīpikā*, the title of which Mr. Gundert has communicated to me, and which work is likely to be the same with the one adduced in the *Mackenzie Collection*, vol. ii. p. 121, named *A'ryabhatta-ryakhyāna*), the work of *A'ryabhatta* is called *Tantra-Bhatīya*.

lated into Arabic, by order of that Khalif, by *Muhammed bin Ibrahīm Alfaḍlī*, and had received the title of the great *Sindhind*. (See Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. ii. p. 504 seqq.) From this juxtaposition it appears that sufficient materials are at hand for investigating the doctrines of this founder of mathematical and astronomical science in India. Therefore it would be very desirable if a mathematician and astronomer, provided with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit, were to undertake to fill up this great gap in the knowledge which we have hitherto possessed of the history of both these sciences."

To my learned friend Dr. Fitzedward Hall we are indebted for the first and accurate statement that, "as reference is made, in the *A'rya Siddhānta*, to *Vṛddha A'ryabhaṭṭa*, there should seem to have been two writers called *A'ryabhaṭṭa*." This correct reference Dr. Hall was enabled to make from having possessed himself of "two copies of the *A'rya Siddhānta*, both imperfect, and very incorrect." "This treatise is in eighteen chapters; and I more than suspect it to be the same composition which Mr. Bentley also had seen in a mutilated form,"\* [*i.e.* the *Mahā A'rya Siddhānta*].

In an "Additional Note on *A'ryabhaṭṭa* and his Writings," by the Committee of Publication, appended to Dr. Hall's paper, the learned writer under the initials W. D. W. brings to light the contents of *Bhūta Viśṇu's* "Commentary on the *Daśagītikā* of *A'ryabhaṭṭa*," from a manuscript of the Berlin Library, a copy of which was supplied to him by Prof. Weber.

From the nature of the contents given in Appendix A, it is clear to me that the treatise which is described as "a brief one, containing only about one hundred and fifty stanzas," consists not only of the *Daśagīti Sūtra*, with a commentary by *Bhūta Viśṇu*, but also of the *A'ryaśatāsata* of *A'ryabhaṭṭa*,

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\* On the *A'rya-Siddhānta*. By Fitzedward Hall, Esq., M.A. Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 559.

which was hitherto believed to be unrecovered. The learned writer correctly remarks that the treatise is undoubtedly the same as Bentley's *Laghu A'rya Siddhanta*, and also that "the other *A'rya Siddhanta*, judging it from the account given of it by Bentley, appears to be, in comparison with this, a quite ordinary astronomical treatise, representing the general Hindu system with unimportant modifications." Yet he falls very nearly into the same error as Colebrooke, when he proceeds to remark : "Yet it seems clear that Brahmagupta and others have treated them as works of the same author, and have founded upon their discordances a charge of inconsistency against *A'ryabhata*."\* The fact is, as we shall see, that Brahmagupta, *Bhatta Utpala*, and *Bhaskara A'charya* know and cite only the elder *A'ryabhata*.

The next and last paper is on some fragments of *A'ryabhata*, by Dr. H. Kern in the *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* vol. xx. pp. 371 seqq. After briefly noticing the works known to former writers as the works of *A'ryabhata*, and after alluding to the conclusion Dr. Hall arrived at, that there were two authors of the same name, he adds : "If the same course were adopted in regard to all the works ascribed to *A'ryabhata*, or to an *A'ryabhata*, if the contents were compared with the numerous fragments scattered in different works, chiefly commentaries, one might indulge the hope that the question of the authorship of *A'ryabhata* would be settled in a satisfactory manner."

Dr. Kern proceeds "to contribute a small share towards solving the question," by giving extracts from the commentary of *Bhatta Utpala* on the *Varaha Sanhitá* of *Varaha Mihira*. In an additional note, at the conclusion of the paper, the learned author states that he was enabled, "by the kindness of Prof. Weber, to ascertain that all the quotations of *Utpala*, with the exception of one half-stanza, occur

\* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. vi. pp. 561 and 564

in a manuscript of the Berlin Library." Some of the passages puzzle him, especially the date A. D. 475, about which he observes: "Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the date of A'ryabhata is meant, or that of Bhūtavishṇu."

Adopting Dr. Kern's suggestion, I proceed to state briefly the result of an examination of the various works attributed to A'ryabhata. In a diligent and expensive search for old and rare Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts, noiselessly conducted for many years past, I have succeeded in procuring the following works whose authorship is attributed to A'ryabhata.

A. Three copies of what has been called the *Vṛddha* or *Laghu A'rya Siddhanta*, but, correctly speaking, *A'ryabhaṭīya Sūtra*, consisting of the *Daśagīti Sūtra*, or *Daśagītīkā*, and the *A'ryāṣṭaśata*, or one hundred and eight couplets. These copies contain the following number of A'ryās :—

|              | Daśagīti Sūtra. | A'ryāṣṭaśata. |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Copy a ..... | 13 .....        | 108           |
| „ b .....    | 13 .....        | 108           |
| „ c .....    | 13 .....        | 108           |

There are two introductory stanzas at the commencement of copy a, evidently an after-addition, and not in the A'ryā metre. This is a copy of a manuscript written in Śaka 1760, or A. D. 1838.

Copy b. The date of the original manuscript is omitted.

Copy c is an old manuscript, without date; but, from the character of the letters, and from the worn-out paper, it appears to be more than three hundred years old. It has, in addition, a *Bhāṣya*, or commentary, by *Somesvara*, containing about 64,000 letters. Unfortunately, portions are illegible or destroyed. The scholiast gives no information about himself, but adds that his commentary is founded upon one by *Bhāskara*. At the conclusion are the words *iti somesvara-virachīte āchāryabhaṭīyām bhāṣhyam samāptam iti*.

B. Of the *Mahā A'rya Siddhanta* I have a copy from

Gujerat, containing eighteen chapters, copied in Śaka 1676, or A. D. 1754.

Two others are fresh copies of one or two originals, one of which has the date Śaka 1762, or A. D. 1840.

The A'ryās are from 600 to 612. There is no commentary.

I hope soon to be in possession of fresh copies of both these Siddhāntas, with commentaries.

C. The Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta, or Brahma Siddhānta, of Brahmagupta, from Gujerat ; transcribed in Śaka 1544. or A. D. 1622. Of this I have sent a copy to my learned friend, Professor Whitney.

D. The Khaṇḍa Khāḍya Karaṇa, of Brahmagupta, with a Bhāṣhya, by A ma Sarman, son of Paṇḍita Mahādeva, of A'nandapura ; copied in Samvat 1783, or A. D. 1726. (A'nandapura is the modern Wadanagara, in Katyawar). This manuscript was sent to me by a learned Paṇḍita of Benares, whose acquaintance I was glad to make at Delhi last year.

E. The Varāha Sanhitā, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭot-pala.

Another copy of the text only.

F. The Brhāj Jātaka of Varāha Mihira ; two copies, one lithographed in Bombay.

G. The Laghu Jātaka of Varāha Mihira.

The Vāsishṭha Siddhānta. Samvat 1810, or A.D. 1733.

The Vyāsa Siddhānta.

The Brahma Siddhānta.

The Romaka Siddhānta. Copied Samvat 1727, or A. D. 1670.

H. The Sūrya Siddhānta, with the Vāsanābhāṣhya.

The Śārvabhauma Siddhānta.

The Tattva Viveka Siddhānta (imperfect).

A commentary on the Siddhānta Śiromani, by Vēchas-pati.

The Sundara Siddhānta.

I am glad to announce that, in the *A'ryabhaṭīya*, or *A'ryabhaṭīya Sūtra*, we have got all the works of the elder *A'ryabhaṭa*, at least all those which were known to *Brahmagupta*, *Bhaṭṭa Utpala*, and *Bhāskara A'chārya*.

My copies of the *A'ryabhaṭīya*, or *Laghu A'rya Siddhānta*, are evidently identical with the one which Whish possessed, and with the Berlin manuscript ; the latter containing about twenty-seven verses or *A'ryās* more, in the shape of a commentary on the *Dasagītikā*, by *Bhūtavishṇu*, which I have not.

Lassen's *A'ryabhaṭīya* is, undoubtedly, the same work. *Brahmagupta* having cited and controverted a work of *A'ryabhaṭa*, as *A'ryāśṭasata*, *Colebrooke* understood and published that "*A'ryabhaṭa* was the author of the *A'ryāśṭasata* (eight hundred couplets)."\* That *A'ryāśṭasata* means eight hundred couplets is also assumed in the passage I have quoted from Lassen. None of the learned scholars who have written so ably on *A'ryabhaṭa* have impugned the correctness of the translation. Professor Whitney goes so far as to state that Dr. Hall "has farther made it at least a probable supposition that the treatise in question (i.e., the *Mahā A'rya Siddhānta*) is, in conformity with *Colebrooke's* earlier conjecture, to be identified with that so often credited to *A'ryabhaṭa* by the name of *A'ryāśṭasata*."†

But *A'ryāśṭasata*, I venture to affirm, means a treatise of one hundred and eight couplets. *Aśṭādhikam satam Aśṭasatam*.‡ The *A'ryā* from *Brahmagupta*, referring to this *A'ryāśṭasata*, is as follows ; it is in the *Tantra Dūshanādhyāya*, Chapter xi. *A'ryā* 8 :—

आर्वाष्टयते पाता भ्रमन्ति दशगौतिके खिराः पठिताः ।

मुक्तेन्दपातमपमण्डले भ्रमन्ति खिरा नातः ॥

\* *Colebrooke's Misc. Mss.*, vol. ii. p. 467.

† *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. vi p. 560.

‡ See the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of *Bhaṭṭojī Dixita*. Calcutta. 1861. vol. 1, p. 369

"In the A'ryāśhaśata, the Pātus (nodes) revolve ; in the Dasaghtikā, they are described as stationary."

These two statements, which led Brahmagupta to censure A'ryabhaṭa for inconsistency of doctrine, are to be found in my copies of the A'ryabhaṭīya Sūtra. They are as follows :—

दशगो.चा. ११ बुधभुवजगुरुग्रहनिववरषाः गत्वांशकान् प्रथमपाताः।  
 सवितुरमोषां च तथा हाजस्त्रिमासलवास्त्रिच मन्दोच्चम् ॥  
 गोलपाद आर्वा २ ताराग्रहेन्दुपाता भ्रमन्त्यजस्रमपमण्डलीर्कश्च ।  
 अर्काच्च मण्डलार्धं भ्रमति हि तस्मिन् क्षितिच्छाया ॥

In the twenty-fourth chapter (Sandhyādhyāya), A'ryāśha 10, of his Brahma Siddhānta, Brahmagupta tells us that—

भटब्रह्मचार्येण जिष्णुतर्धन गणितगोलाविदा ।  
 आर्वाष्टसहस्रेण स्फुटसिद्धान्तः कृतो ब्राह्मः ॥

"Bhaṭa Brahmāchārya, the son of Jishnu, mathematician and astronomer, composed the Brahma Sphuṭa Siddhānta, in 1008 A'ryās." The word A'ryāśhaśasahasreṇa means 1008, and not 8000 ; and my copy of Brahmagupta's Siddhānta consists of the former number of couplets.

Analogous examples may be produced from the Smṛtis, where numbers are given. But, to set aside all doubt of the correctness of my translation of the word A'ryāśhaśata, I produce nearly all the passages in the A'ryabhaṭīya Sūtra which have been controverted by Brahmagupta :—

ब्रह्मगुप्तसिद्धान्त अध्याय १ आर्वा ८ दशगौति, आर्वा ५ का होम न  
 युगपादानावभटब्रह्मचारि समानि वोढमनुर्वुगग्रखगमास्ते च ।  
 क्रतयुगादीनि । अद्विहितवान्  
 तेषां व्युत्पन्नसमानमेकमपि ॥

ब्र.आर्वा १२मनुसंधियुगमिच्छत्या- काशपाद, आर्वा ८ अष्टोत्तर-  
 र्वभटस्तभनुर्यतः श्वयुगः। कल्प- साहस्रं ब्राह्मी दिवसो अह-  
 सतुर्वुगानां सहस्रमष्टाधिकं तस्य॥ युगानां ।

ब्र.आ. ६० अकृतार्थभटः श्रीघ्नग- दशगीति आर्वा ४ चंद्रोच्चर्जुषि-  
 मिदृच्छं पातमल्पगं स्वगतेः । ति- खधुधसुगुमिधूनभगुजप्रपिखु-  
 थप्रन्तग्रहणानां घुणाचरं तस्य भयेषार्काः। बुफिनचपातविलोमा  
 संवादः ॥ बुधाङ्गजाकोदयाश्च लंकायां ।

ब्र.अ.२ आ.३३ आर्वभटस्याच्चा- दशगीति आ.१० द्वाधीनि मंद-  
 नात् मध्यममंदोच्च श्रीघ्नपरिधी- वृत्तं शशिनः हगल्लदल्लयबो-  
 नां । न स्पष्टा भौमाद्याः स्पष्टा क्तेभ्यः । भागुम्भल्लदल्लयबाय  
 ब्रह्मोक्तमध्यायैः ॥ निगुरुकुजभगुबुधोच्च श्रीघ्नेभ्यः॥

ब्र.अ.६ आर्वा.२१ आर्वभटः चेत्रां- गोलपाद आर्वा ४ चन्द्रोच्चैर्हा-  
 येर्दृष्ट्यादृष्ट्यादुक्तवांस्तदसत् । दशभौ रविचिप्तो कतिरस्त्रि-  
 दृग्गणितविसंभदात् दृग्गणि- तैर् । दृष्ट्याः नवभिर्भगुभंगोस्तै-  
 तं स्वकाशायैः ॥ र्दृष्टिकैर्दृष्टिकैर्वयाकस्याः ॥

ब्र. तंत्रदूषणाध्याय ११ आर्वा ४ दशगीति आर्वा ५ कल्पाद्विर्गु-  
 आर्वभटो युगपादान् स्त्रीन् पादागच गुरुदिवसाच्च भारतात्  
 व्यतीतानाश्च कश्चियुगादौचत् । पूर्वं ।  
 तस्य कृतान्तर्वर्ज्यान् सयुगाद्य-  
 न्तौ न तत् तज्जात् ॥

ब्र.अ.११ आ.५ युगरविभगणाः दशगीति आर्वा ३ युगरविभग-  
 खुप्रघ्नितवत्प्रोक्तां तंत्रबोर्वुगं णाः खुप्रघ्नमिचचगिबिहृगुहृस

सष्टं । त्रिभूती रव्युदयानां कुक्षिभिर्गुणैश्चैव प्राक् । काश  
तद्वतरं हेतुना केन ॥ पाद आ, ५ रविभगणारव्यब्दा ॥

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या ६ युगवर्षादी- काशपाद आ १२ युगवर्षमास-  
नवदशैवसितादिः समप्रवृत्तान् दिवसाः समं प्रवृत्तास्तु चैत्रशु-  
यत् । तदसद्यतः स्फुटयुतं गं न द्वाद्विः । काशो यमनाद्यन्तो  
स्वैर्यामन्दपातानां । ग्रहभैरगुभीयते क्षेत्रे ॥

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या ८ आर्यभटो गोलपाद, ४८ क्षितिर्विद्योगात्  
जानाति ग्रहाष्टकगतिं यदुक्त- दिनकृत् रवीदुयोगात् प्रसाधि-  
वांस्तदसत् । राहुकृतं न ग्रहण तस्येदुः । यतितारा ग्रहयोगा-  
तस्यातो नाष्टमो राहुः ॥ स्तथैव तारा ग्रहाः सर्वे ।

ब्र. अ. ११ आर्या ११ ओकारो दशमीति आर्या ५ गचगुणदि-  
दिनचारे गुरोरोद्विषयस्य भव- वसाच्च भारतात् पूर्वं ।  
ति कल्पादौ । न भवत्यार्का  
यस्मादौग्रावे विस्तरस्तस्मात् ॥

ब्र. अ. ११ आ १२ सूर्योदयाच्चतु- काशक्रियापाद, आर्या १६ सप्ते ते  
र्यान् दिनपान् यदुवाच तदस- हीरेषाः शनैश्चराद्या यथाक्रमं  
दर्यभटः । लङ्कोदये यतोऽर्क- शीघ्राः । शीघ्रक्रमाच्चतुर्था भवति  
स्यास्तमवं प्राह सिद्धपुरे ॥ च सूर्योदयात् दिनपः ॥ गोल-  
पाद, आर्या, १३ उदयो यो लं-  
काया सोऽस्तमवः सवितुरैव  
सिद्धपुरे । मध्याह्ने यमकीटानां  
रोमकविषयेऽर्कैरालं स्यात् ॥

ब्र.स.॥ आ.१८ गच्छगच्छियोजन- द्यगीति, आर्वा.७ दृषियोजनं  
यद्विचिन्निभूव्यासं पुन्य—साव- जिल्मभूव्यासः ।  
इता । आत्माश्चानं अप्रापितम-  
निस्ययः समतिष्ठतकक्षात् ॥

ब्र.स.॥ आ.१७ प्राणेनैतिकक्षाभं द्यगीति, आ.६ प्राणेनैति कक्षां  
वदि तत् क क्षुतो प्रजेक्षिम- भंक्षयुगांश्चि अक्षजवो भवांश्चि-  
ध्वानं । आर्वत्तनमुर्व्याखेन्न पतं- र्क्षः । गोल.आ.८ अनुक्षीमगतिं  
ति समुच्छ्रयाः कक्षात् ॥ नैस्थः पश्चत्यचलं विलोमग

यदत् । अचलानि भानि तदत्  
समपश्चिमगानि खंकायाः ॥

ब्र.स.॥ आ.२२ उत्तरगोक्षी  
आयां विषुवज्यातो यदुक्तमूना-  
यां । सममंडलगस्तद् सत्क्रांति  
ज्यायां यतो भवति ॥

गोलपाद, आर्वा.११ सा विषुव  
ज्यायां चैत् विषुवदुदक् संब-  
केन संगुणिता । विषुज्या वि-  
भक्ता लब्धः पूर्वापरः शंकुः ॥

ब्र.स.॥ आ.२३ व्यासाह्नं विभ-  
क्ता दुग्गतिजीवा चतुर्गुणा ल-  
ब्धं । संबननाह्नः पंचदशगुणि-  
तयाम्रिज्याया भक्ता ॥

गोलपाद, आर्वा.३२ । ३३ । ३४ ।  
क्षितिजादुन्नतभागानां या ज्या  
सपरतो भवेत् शंकुः । मध्याह्न-  
तभागज्या छाया यक्षोस्तु तस्यै-  
व ॥ मध्यज्योदयजीवा संवर्गो  
व्यासदलान्नृते यक्षात् । तन्मध्य-  
ज्या क्रत्योर्विषयमूलं खट्वक्षे-  
पः ॥ खट्वक्षेपकृतिविषयितस्य  
मूलं खट्वगतिः कुवथात् । क्षि-

तिस्रमद्वक्त्राणां भूयाःशोर्धं न-  
भो मध्यात् ॥

ब्र.श.११ आ.२६ लम्बनमृणधन-  
मुक्तं पूर्वापरस्तिथौ दिनार्धस्य ।  
युक्तो भावो यद्ववति तत् ऋण-  
धनयो स्तिथौ कतरत् ॥

गोलपाद. आर्वा. १५।३६ विक्षि-  
पगुणाच्चज्या लम्बकमजिता  
भवेत् ऋणमुदक्खे । उदये  
धनमस्तमये दक्षिणगीन्धनमृणं  
चन्द्रे ॥ विक्षिपापकममुत्क्रमणं  
विस्तरार्धकृतियुक्त मुदमृणमुद-  
गबनेदक्षिणगी धनमृणं चन्द्रे ॥

ब्र.श.११ आ.३४ विक्षिपगुणाच्च  
ज्या लम्बकमजिता ग्रहणधनं यत् ।  
उक्तमुदयास्तमयोर्नक्षत्राटिकं  
तस्तदसत् ॥

गो. आ. २८ विक्षिपगुणाच्चज्या  
लम्बकमजिता भवेत् ऋणमुद-  
क्खे । उदये धनमस्तमये द-  
क्षिणगी धनमृणं चन्द्रे ॥

ब्र.श.११ आर्वा ४३ जानात्येक-  
मपि यतो नार्यभटो गणितका-  
लगोलानां । नमया प्रोक्तानि  
ततः पृथक् पृथक् दूषणान्येषां ॥

दश.आ. १ आर्यभटस्त्रीणि गद-  
ति गणितं कालक्रियां गोलं ॥

These extracts are given as in the original, -without any attempt at correction. Colebrooke quotes and translates the following passage as from A'ryabhata, cited by Prthūdaka:—\*

मपञ्जरः स्थिरो भूरेवावृत्त्यावृत्त्य प्रातिदैवसिकौ उदयास्त-  
मयो मयादयति नक्षत्रग्रहाणाम् ।

"The sphere of the stars is stationary ; and the earth,  
Colebrooke's Misc Ess vol II p. 392.

making a revolution, produces the daily rising and setting of stars and planets."

With regard to this passage, Dr. Hall remarks that he has not sought it out in his manuscript of the Mahā A'rya Siddhānta. Nor would he find it there. The fact is, the Laghu A'rya Siddhānta is metrical; and the passage quoted is not so. This is observed by Dr. Hall; but he went in the wrong track in stating that "this extract might go to prove that A'rya, besides his works in verse, wrote others in prose."\*

I do not find the passage, literally, in either of the Siddhāntas; but I have no doubt that it is only a paraphrase of the following line from A'ryabhata, in Pṛthūdaka's own words; A'ryabhatīya, Golapāda, A'ryā ix. :

अनुलोमगतिर्नैस्त्रः पश्यत्यचलं विलोमगं यदत् ।

अचलानि भानि तद्वत्समपश्चिमगानि लङ्कायाम् ॥

"As a person in a vessel, while moving forwards, sees an immoveable object moving backwards, in the same manner do the stars, however immoveable, seem to move (daily). At Lankā (i. e. at a situation of no geographical latitude) they go straight to the west (i. e. in a line that cuts the horizon at right angles, or, what is the same, parallel to the prime vertical at Lankā)."<sup>†</sup>

I have no doubt that, in the following passage, which has been a theme of fruitful discussion, the first line only is from A'ryabhata (it is the latter half of the fourth A'ryā of the Kālapāda chapter, in my MS.); the second line is, in all likelihood, an addition by Bhatta Utpala :<sup>‡</sup>

\* Journal American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 558.

† Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xx. 1863, p. 376

‡ Ibid. p. 378. The couplet in the A'ryabhatīya is as follows :—

काशपाद् आर्वाः ॥ सोऽक्षमगया सभगवैर्दिशेयिताः सोऽक्षनीचपरिवर्ताः ।

सुदभगया राधिसुषास्त्रावुजाया दुरोरब्दाः ॥

गुरुभगणा राशिगुणा ऋष्ययुगाद्या गुरोरब्दाः ।

गुरुभगणानां संख्या जिनयमवेदतु ह्यभुजतुल्या ॥

“The revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the number of the signs (twelve), are the years of Jupiter, called Aśvayuja, etc. ; his revolutions are equal to the number of the Jinās, a couple, the Vedas, the seasons, the fires (i. e. 364,224.)”

Aśyabhata having an alphabetical notation of his own, it was surprising to find him make use of our arithmetical notation, which the second line quoted above implies. But now the enigma is solved : the second line is not of Aśyabhata.

The Dasagiti Sūtra, as the name purports, is composed of ten Aśyās ; the three additional ones, in my copies, relating to—1. invocation, 2. the alphabetical notation, and 3. the fruit or advantage of knowing the Dasagiti Sūtra. The Aśyāstasata consists of three chapters, viz., 1. Gaṇita ; 2. Kūlakṛiyā ; and 3. Gola. As the Aśyābhāṭya consists of the Dasagiti Sūtra and Aśyāstasata, the treatise consists of four chapters, called pādas, of which the Dasagiti Sūtra is the first, and the remaining three as above. This arrangement was not clearly perceived by the learned writer of the additional note to Dr. Hall's paper.\*

Any one studying the Commentary of Munīvara, *alias* Viśvarūpa, styled Marichi, on the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi of Bhāskarāchārya, and also his Sārvaśhauma Siddhānta, cannot fail to remark that he clearly notices two Aśyābhāṭas. He calls, however, the author of the so-called Mahā Aśyā Siddhānta, Laghu Aśyābhāṭa, or Aśyābhāṭa junior ; and, in quoting from the senior, calls him simply Aśyābhāṭa. Sometimes Aśyābhāṭa junior appears only as plain Aśyābhāṭa ; in all likelihood, from the fault of copyists.

Gaṇeśa, in his commentary on Bhāskarāchārya's Lilāvati, had only to deal with Aśyābhāṭa junior ; and, accordingly, he speaks of only one Aśyābhāṭa.

\* Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. vi. p. 561,

The *Sundara Siddhānta* of Jñānarāja also distinguishes a *Laghu* from a *Vṛddha A'ryabhata*. Besides the passages referred to by Brahmagupta, all those cited by Bhaṭṭa Utpala and Bhāskara A'chārya are found in my copy of the *A'ryabhaṭīya*. There cannot now, therefore, possibly be any doubt of our having a correct copy of the works of *A'ryabhata* senior ; and I shall take the earliest opportunity of publishing the original text, with the commentary of *Somesvara*, for the gratification of learned orientalists.

I shall now proceed to an examination of *A'ryabhata's* age. *A'ryabhata* was born in A. D. 476. This date is given, by himself, in the *A'ryashtasata* as follows :—

षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः ।

त्रयधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोऽतीताः ॥

Dr. Kern quotes a corrupt version of it from the Berlin manuscript. The correct translation is : “ When three of the four Age-quarters and 60+60 [= 3600] years are past, then are past upwards of twenty-three years from my birth.” This gives, for the birth of *A'ryabhata*, the year A. D. 476 ; as the fourth Age-quarter, or *Kali Yuga*, commenced 3101 years before Christ.

Strange to say, the commentator *Somesvara* understands the verse to mean that 3623 years had elapsed of the *Kali Yuga* at the birth of *A'ryabhata*. The commentator whom Mr. Whish consulted fell, perhaps, into the same error ; as Mr. Whish does not appear to have given the exact date, but refers *A'ryabhata* simply to the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. *A'ryabhata* calls himself a native of *Kusumapura*, or *Pāṭaliputra*. Beyond a doubtful allusion to the *Brahma Siddhānta*, he never mentions any previous author, and rather prides himself on his originality. His work is written with great attention to conciseness. His system of notation is quite original. The account given

of it by Lassen is not altogether correct. In the invention of a new system of notation, the Indian A'ryabhaṭa may be compared to the Grecian Archimedes. The ratio of the diameter to the circumference was given, by Archimedes, in his book *De dimensione circuli*, as seven to twenty-two; while that of A'ryabhaṭa is as one to 3.1416. A'ryabhaṭa has the following notice of the Buddhist system of measuring time:—

कालपाद चार्वाह उत्तरिणी युगार्धं पञ्चादवर्षिणी युगार्धं च ।  
मध्ये युगस्य सुषमा चादावर्षे च दुःषमेदृशात् ॥

This arrangement is different from that of Hemachārya and other Jaina authorities. (See Appendix A).

## II. VARĀHA MIHIRA.

as we have already seen, cites A'ryabhaṭa by name in the passage given by Bhaṭṭa Utpala from Varāha's Pancha Siddhāntikā Karana, quoted in his commentary on the Vārāhi Sanhitā.† The Pancha Siddhāntikā Karana I have as yet failed in recovering. Colebrooke‡ assigned to him the close of the fifth century of the Christian era, from a calculation of the position of the colures affirmed as actual in his time by Varāha Mihira. Since then no further solid data have been discovered to fix the era of this celebrated astronomer. I have failed to find out the date of his birth, but am glad to have discovered that of his death in a com-

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\* Varāha Mihira calls himself the son of A'dityaśāsa, under whom he studied and obtained the highest gift from the Sun in Kapithaka (a grāma, according to Bhaṭṭotpala), and an A'vantika, or native of Ujjayini. Bhaṭṭotpala calls him a Māgadha-brahman, or dvijavara (best of Brahmins), and A'vantikāchārya. Varāha's son was Prihnyasa, who composed the Shatpanchasika, on which also Bhaṭṭotpala has a commentary:

† The passage is given by Dr. Kern, Jour. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xx. p. 383.

‡ Colebrooke's Misc. Ess., vol. ii. p. 482.

mentary on the *Khaṇḍa Khādyā* of Brahmagupta, by A'marāja :—

नवाधिकपञ्चशतसंख्यशान्ने वराहमिहिराचार्यो दिवं गतः

“Varāha Mihira Achārya went to heaven in the 509th [year] of the Śaka Kāla, i. e. A.D. 587.”

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement.

The following passage, quoted by Bhatta Utpala, in his commentary on the *Vārāhi Sanhitā*; from a Tantra by Varāha Mihira, shows that he flourished after Śaka Kāla 427, i.e. after A.D. 505 :

यथावाहर्गणानयनं

सप्ताश्विनेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्व चैत्रशुक्लादौ ।

अर्द्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे भौमदिवसाख्ये ॥

मासीकृते समासे दिष्टे सप्ताहतेष्टयमपक्षैः ।

लब्धैर्युतोऽधिमासेस्त्रिंशद्युक्तस्त्रिंशद्युतोऽध्वजः ॥

रुद्र\* समनुग्रहो नो लब्धो नो गुणखसप्तभिर्द्युगणः ।

रोमकसिद्धांतोऽयं नातिचिरं पौलिशेऽप्येवं ॥

The astronomers of Ujjayini place Varāha Mihira in the beginning of the fifth century. It is not unlikely that they have mistaken the Śaka Kāla for that of the Vikrama Samvat, or fallen into the same error as Albirūnī.

Albirūnī states that 526 years had passed up to his own date, A. D. 1031, from the date of the composition of the *Pancha Siddhāntikā* of Varāha Mihira ;\* which event must, therefore, be placed in A. D. 505. But in this he is evidently in error. Varāha Mihira adopted the epoch of the Romaka Siddhānta, for finding the number of civil or natural days (*Ahargana*) ; and Albirūnī or his informants have assumed

\* *Journal Asiatique*, tome iv 1844, p. 285.

this to be the date of Varáha's Pancha Siddhántiká, which adopts the epoch of the Romaka Siddhánta.

Varáha Mihira, as we have seen, on the authority of A'marája, died in A. D. 587, i.e. a century and eleven years after the birth of A'ryabhaṭa.

The so-called *Khanda Kataka* of Albirūnī is evidently Brahmagupta's *Khanda Khadya*; and Arcand is a corruption of Karana.

From various considerations, the middle of the sixth century has been allotted to Varáha by Colebrooke, and by the learned American translator and commentator of the *Sūrya Siddhánta*. The passage I have quoted from Bhaṭṭot-pala confirms these conjectures.

This calculation, it proceeds to tell us further, is that of the Romaka Siddhánta; and, judging by similar calculations and other Siddhántas, it appears to me highly probable that the Romaka Siddhánta was composed in Saka 427, or A. D. 505. Varáha Mihira founded his Pancha Siddhántiká Karana on the Romaka Siddhánta and four others. It is clear, therefore, that Varáha could not have lived before A. D. 505. In all likelihood, his birth was twenty or thirty years subsequent to this date; which would make Varáha Mihira about fifty or sixty years old at the time of his death in A. D. 587. In an essay on Kálidása,\* I have attempted to show that the nine gems of Indian celebrity flourished at the Court of Harsha-Vikramáditya, at Ujjayinī, in the sixth century of the Christian era. As we have now established the date of Varáha Mihira beyond a doubt, my hypothesis that Mátrigupta is identical with the celebrated Kálidása gains further support.

The authors of the Paulisa, Romaka, Vásishṭha, Saura, and Paitámaha Siddhántas being noticed by Varáha Mihira, it follows that they flourished before A. D. 505. Brahmagupta affirms that Srishena, the author of Romaka

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\* Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, vol. vi,

Siddhānta, bases his calculations on those of Lāta, Vasishtha, Vijayanandin, and A'ryabhata, and that Vishnuchandra, following the same guides, wrote the Vāsishtha Siddhānta. As we have the date of A.D. 508 for the Romaka Siddhānta, it is evident that Lāta, Vijayanandin, and Vasishtha flourished before that time. I presume that the Romaka Siddhānta was composed in accordance with the work of some Roman or Greek author ; just as the Paulisa Siddhānta was composed from the work of Paulus Alexandrinus. Is not Lātāchārya also a foreign author ? Bhāṭṭa Utpala notices also a strange author, of the name of Sphujidhvaja or Asphujidhvaja, as a Yavaneśvara, who composed a new Śāstra before the Śaka era. His works appear, from the following passage,\* to have been consulted by Bhāṭṭa Utpala, who remarks that Varāha Mihira consulted the works of other Yavana authors not available to himself. I believe the word Sphujidhvaja is a corruption of the Greek name Speusippus. Diogenes Laertius mentions two authors of this name, one of whom was a physician called Herophileus Alexandrinus, and may, possibly, be the astronomer whose works were translated and studied in India.

Varāha Mihira's knowledge of Greek technical astronomical terms and doctrines has been fully treated of by Weber and others. The verse in which he gives the Greek terms for the Sanskrit names of the signs of the Zodiac, has hitherto been presented to us, except by Mr. Whish, in a corrupt form ;† as the following will show that the last puzzling word is the veritable Greek 'Ιχθύες, or *Pisces* :—

क्रियतावुत्तुमकुक्षीरक्षेयपार्थीमजूककोर्व्याख्याः ।

तौक्षिक आकोक्षीरो हृद्गोक्षेयसिः क्रमयः ॥

\* यवनेश्वरेषां कुक्षिज्जलानाम्बु यावत् जलं यवकावत् प्राक् यावते  
चतुर्वचनाचारैः पूर्णैः जलमिति तदङ्कुजिज्जोऽम्बाह ।

† See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1845, p 810.

I have failed, as yet, to discover the *Paulisa* and *Romaka* *Siddhāntas*. I have two old copies of a *Romaka* *Siddhānta*; but it is, evidently, a modern production, taken from some Arabian author, and having nothing in common with the citations and references to the older *Romaka* *Siddhānta* preserved in the works of *Varāhamihira*, *Brahmagupta*, and *Bhāttatpala*.

### III. BRAHMAGUPTA

has given his own date in the *Brahmasphuṭa Siddhānta*. I gave this extract in my *Essay on Kālidāsa*, three or four years ago; but it has escaped the attention of one of our ablest and most accurate scholars.\*

श्रीचापवंगतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपाज्ञात् ॥ पंचा-  
शत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षयतैः पंचभिरतीतैः ॥ १ ॥ ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धांतः  
सज्जनगणितगोखवित्प्रीत्यै ॥ त्रिंशदर्शेण कृतो जिष्णुसुतब्रह्म-  
गुप्तेन ॥ २ ॥ अध्याय २४ आर्या ७-८

"In the reign of *Sri Vyāghramukha*, of the *Sri Chāpa* dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after the *Śaka* King (*i. e.* *Śālivāhana*, or A. D. 628) having passed, *Brahmagupta*, the son of *Jishnu*, at the age of thirty, composed the *Brahmagupta Siddhānta*, for the gratification of mathematicians and astronomers" (chap. 24 *Āryās* 7-8).

### IV. BHATTA UTPALA'S

age has been quoted from his work by *Colebrooke* and others :

फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीयायामसितायां शुभोद्दिने ।  
बख्शष्टमिते याके कृतं विद्वतिर्भया ॥

\* Professor Max Müller, Preface to the *Rigveda*, iv. pp. xiv. f.

## V. BHĀSKARA ĀCHĀRYA

has stated, in his *Siddhānta Siromani*, the date of the composition of his work as follows :—

रघुणपूषमहीसमराब्दतृपसमये भवन्नमोऽस्ति ।

रघुणवर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि रचितः ॥

This date has been singularly confirmed by an inscription which I discovered, some years ago, in the neighbourhood of the railway station of Chāllisgām, about seventy miles beyond Nāsik. This inscription gives also the names of several of Bhāskarāchārya's descendants, who taught his works in a college endowed in the neighbourhood of Chāllisgām, at the foot of the hills which contain the Pitalkhorā caves. (See Appendix B.)

Remarks on the inscription referred to in p. 410, and given at length in Appendix B.

In this inscription we have the names of the following kings of the Yadu dynasty : Bhillama, Jaitrapāla, and Singhana. Under this dynasty is the following genealogy of subordinate chiefs of the solar race : Kṛshnarāja, his son Indrarāja, his son Govana, and his son Sonhadeva. This last makes a grant of certain privileges, in the shape of perquisites, or first-gifts, to a college established by Changa-deva, (within six miles of the railway station at Chāllisgām, and at the foot of the Pitalkhorā caves), now entirely deserted and in ruins, in the year 1128 Saka-kāla, i. e. A. D. 1206, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.

Changadeva was the son of Lakshmidhara, who was patronized by Jaitrapāla, as the chief of his Panditas. Lakshmidhara's father was the celebrated Bhāskarāchārya. His father was Kavīvara Māheśvarāchārya ; and his father was Manoratha ; his father, Prabhākara ; his father, Govinda Sarrajna ; his father, Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, to whom Bhoja gave the title of Vidyāpati. His father was Trivikrama. This

learned family, we are further told, belonged to the *gotra* of *Sāndilya*.

The names of Bhillama, Jaitrapāla, and Singhana occur in two copper-plate grants, No. 9 and 10 of Mr. Wathen's series (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* v. pp. 178, 183). In these grants we have also the names of the successors of Singhana, i. e. Krishna, Jaitrapāla (Singhana's son), his younger brother Mahādeva, who succeeded him, and Rāmachandra, the son of Krishna, the dates of whose grants are Śaka 1212 and 1194. The donor, Sonhadeva, in our inscription, dated Śaka 1128, is a contemporary and subordinate of Singhana, whose third lineal descendant was Rāmachandra, in whose reign the grants of Śaka 1212 and 1194 are dated.

These dates, therefore, are perfectly compatible with, and confirmatory of, the accuracy of that of the inscription.

Bhāskarāchārya, the author of the *Siddhānta Śiromani*, gives the date of his birth as follows :

रसगुणपूर्णमहोसमयकटपसमये ऽभवन्मोत्पत्तिः ।

रसगुणवर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि रचितः ॥

" In the year 1086 of the Śaka king, I was born ;  
And at the age of 36, I composed the *Siddhānta Śiromani*."

This date is quite in accordance with that of the inscription.

The following lines, in praise of Bhāskarāchārya's accomplishments, are sometimes to be found added to MSS. of the *Līlāvati* :

अष्टौ व्याकरणानि षट्च भिषजां व्याचष्टवः संहिताः

षट्कर्कान् गणितानि पञ्च चतुरो वेदानधीते च यः ।

रत्नानां त्रितयं इयं च बुबुधे नीमांससोरत्नैः

सत् ब्रह्मैव जगाद् गावमहिमा सोऽध्याः कविर्मास्तरः ॥

An important fact to be noticed is the bestowal of the title of Vidyapati on Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, an ancestor of Bhāskarāchārya, by Bhoja.

This Bhoja is, undoubtedly, the monarch of Dhāra, whom it is the fashion to speak of as distinguished for his patronage of learning.

In the Rāja Mrgāṅka Kārana, attributed to Bhoja, a copy of which was brought to me, by Panditas, from Jessulmere, whither I sent them in search of Jaina MSS. two years ago, its author recommends 964 to be subtracted from the Śaka era to find the Ahargana, i. e. "the sum of days," in civil reckoning.

Bhoja, therefore, it follows, flourished in  $964 + 78 = 1042$  A.D. At the end of the work he is called Rama Ranga Malla, a title also to be found in the Pātanjala Yoga Sūtra Vṛtti.

My panditas have succeeded in getting a very imperfect copy of the Tilaka Manjarī of Dhanapāla, who is said by Merutunga, the author of the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, to be the author of that work, and to have been a favourite of Bhoja. Merutunga adds that from Vikrama Samvat 1076, or A. D. 1019, Bhīmarāja reigned. He was succeeded by Karna in 1028. At the time the Chālukya Bhlma reigned in Gujerat, Bhoja says Merutunga ruled in Mālava. According to this Jaina hierarch, Munja was imprisoned by Tailapa, the Chālukya, who commenced his reign in Śaka 895, or A.D. 973, according to the copper-plate grants of Mr. Wathen. Dhanapāla was a Brahmana, but, evidently, a Jaina by faith. He composed the Jina Stavāna, or Gāthās in Māgadhī, in praise of Jina, of which a complete copy was brought me from Jessulmere. The Jainas are loud in the praises of Dhanapāla.

Mr. Bentley speculated that Bhāskarāchārya flourished after Akbar the Great. Our inscription furnishes a new proof that the unfavourable opinion of Hindu veracity which led to this conclusion was utterly unfounded.

## APPENDIX A.

“We will now proceed to inquire how far the doctrines of our treatise correspond with what has elsewhere been handed down as taught by A'ryabhatta. The peculiar division of the Great Age (*mahāyuga*) and constitution of the Æon (*kalpa*), described by Brahmagupta (see Colebrooke, as above) as A'ryabhatta's, are here given. The treatise begins the Æon with sunrise at Lanka, a tenet which distinguished the school of A'ryabhatta from that of Pulisa (see Colebrooke, as above ; also Essays, ii. 427, et al.) It affirms the revolution of the earth on its axis, and the non-reality of the apparent daily motion of the stars, comparing this to the effect of riding in a chariot when fixed objects seem to be moving in a direction contrary to that in which the chariot is proceeding (see the reference to this point in Mr. Hall's paper). It declares the moon, planets, and stars to be naturally dark, and only illuminated upon the side which is turned toward the sun (see Colebrooke, Hind. Alg., note G ; Essays, ii. 467). The variability of dimensions of the epicycles of the planets is recognized, although the agreement between this treatise and the Sūrya Siddhānta herein is not, so close as Colebrooke (As. Res. xii. 236 ; Essays, ii. 401) seems to have understood it to be : perhaps Colebrooke's reference here belongs rather to the other A'rya Siddhānta. The passage repeated by Colebrooke (Hind. Alg., note I ; Essays, ii. 473) from Bhatta-utpala on Varāha-mihira is almost precisely represented by the first verse of our third *pāda* : its evidence, however, is of little account, as it relates to a matter so general that it might occur in nearly equivalent terms in almost any treatise ; Colebrooke is mistaken in attributing it to any necessary connection with the doctrine of the precession : the position of the equinoxes would be described by a Hindu astronomer as in the first of Aries and of Libra, whatever his theory respecting the important fact of their



खोरपी बाटोरस्तकपाटपाठनपदः कर्षाटस्तककवः । श्रीगुरुपतिः ॥  
 सवधनदुपपाकबुद्धावधिः तस्यातांशुदंत्रिकांत कवकवकीर्तिः ॥  
 ५ ॥ कच्छीकान्तकवः प्रताटितकवः श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 विभवः प्राप्ताभुवः शिववः । इष्टीको मयुराशिमो रवकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 वेनाकावधि वक्षः भक्तवदना कच्छीरपीदो जिवः ॥ ६ ॥ कवततत् इव इवको-  
 कवो मयुको कवतीहितकृते । कवति सोऽवनिर्ग कवकाविकावति प्रा-  
 कविचवकीर्तिः ॥ ७ ॥ कव भक्तान्तकवर्षवः । श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कव भक्तान्तकवर्षवः  
 कवपतिः । निष्ठान्तो वक्षः कच्छीको राको कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥ ८ ॥ मयावीकृति  
 जित्तचित्तिपतिचित्तैककच्छीपतिर्देवमाकावकावत्तनतिः श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः ।  
 श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कविप्रवृत्तयेस्तुष्टो न वेनापरः प्रीक्षा पावकावकावतिचित्तवर्ष-  
 तवर्षराजेति वत् ॥ ९ ॥ प्राप्ताभुवः कवकावकावतिः प्राप्ताभुवः कवकावतिर्दे-  
 वेतिवृत्तिवृत्तिविरा वः श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः । मयावीकृतिः कवति विभवः  
 कवकावकावतिर्देवमाकावकावत्तनतिः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥ १० ॥ कव-  
 रस्तुत्तवकावको देवमाकावकावतिः । श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कवकावकावतिः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 ११ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १२ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १३ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १४ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १५ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १६ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १७ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १८ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 १९ ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥  
 २० ॥ श्रीगुरुपाठोद्भवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः कच्छीकान्तकवः ॥

सिद्धिं लोको न लोके विचार्य कथं ज्ञानं ॥ अतः शिवाकाशविचारहारो विचारो  
 भास्वरमन्त्रोऽप्युत् ॥ २० ॥ सर्वथा व्यासं ह्योऽवचिति वाचा पुरातनः ।  
 जैनपाठेन ह्रीं नीतः कृतश्च विप्रवाप्यथोः ॥ २१ ॥ तस्मात् कृतः सिंघवचमन्त्रोऽपि  
 दैवस्य नोऽस्ति चक्षुः ॥ श्रीभास्वराचार्यनिरुद्धाख्यविचारहेतोः कुरुते  
 यत् ॥ २२ ॥ भास्वररचितपद्याः सिद्धांतचिरोपचिप्रसूताः । तद्व्याख्या-  
 चायं व्याख्येया यच्छे निवसन् ॥ २३ ॥ श्रीश्रीकृष्णेन यथावत् दत्तं हेमादि  
 (न किञ्चिदिहापदैव) भूत्यादि सर्वं परिपाठनोऽवधिष्यत्येवमुक्तं ॥ २४  
 कति श्रीयथे ॥ २५ ॥ प्रथमसंस्कृतं श्रीभाष्ये वाच्ये श्रीयथे वाच्यं यन्मूक्यवचनमे  
 श्रीश्रीकृष्णेन सर्वजनसिद्धौ कुरुते इत्युक्तं निजसुखरचितयथावत्पद्यां  
 दत्तम् ॥ तद्यथा

इवां पाठवी जे कथे चवटे तेहावा जो सिंदू जो राखला होता थोडका  
 प्रावी ता यडा दिङ्गला माझ्याजेंदिकडे मज्जोसरतं माझ्याहीदिङ्गले ॥ पाङ्क-  
 कापाणिं हावावा श्रीहावा चहु पाठी निघवपाङ्ककापाणि ॥ यज्ञपौकवी-  
 पाङ्ककापाणि यज्ञपुत्रिजे वाचये वाहावा श्रीवो यडा दिङ्गला जेतिवाचे  
 वाङ्मति तेतिवां प्रतिपादि यवी तेहा । जेजनिजेने यवीने यवाव-यवाने वापा  
 यमठा चवं चवं वापावे हादिपूपावे झूक तथा भूमिः यत्तरायाठविद्युहः  
 १०ई पाच —वाचे—वाचतायचल—वा—चल वंदिता—वाचत—वीचररा  
 वावोवीवीवोवीवा ।

### TRANSLATION.

Obeisance to the god of wisdom (Ganādhipati)—four or five syllables lost—perfection—four syllables lost—moon and earth—about twenty-five syllables lost. Stha—two syllables lost—dū—one syllable lost—tra—preservations—the planets and stars\*—three syllables not well made out.

Glory to Bhāskarāchārya, eminently skilled in Bhāṭṭa,† estimable in Sāṅkhya, original in the Tantra, deeply conversant in the Vedas, great in the mechanical arts, independent in poetical metre, intimate with the Vaiseshika Śāstra,

\* Gaganachara

† The Mīmāṃsā as propounded by Bhāṭṭa Kumārila.

like Prabhākara\* in the Prābhākara system, a Kṛpī in poetry, like the three-eyed god (Śaṁba) in the three subtle sciences, such as mathematics,† whose feet are bowed to by the learned.

Peace to the prosperous Yadu dynasty, with everything appertaining to it ; (a dynasty, in which, for the preservation of the world, the independent Vishṇu assumed being.

In it the illustrious King Bhīlāma flourished, who was a lion attacking the furious masses of noisy Gurjara King-elephants, who was skilful in bursting the powerful breasts of the Lāsas, a thorn in the heart of the Kārṇāsas, and a crown-jewel among kings ; Jaitrapāla flourished, who was the destroyer of the happiness of the Aṁdhra females with their husbands.

A portion of the Lord of Lakshmi, who escaped (or saved himself), from the world, descended from Jaitrapāla, (and) who gained the utmost power on the field of battle, a controller of the earth,—Singhana ; who in the van of battle threw down the lord of Mathurā, the king of Benares ; a young child of whose servant defeated the warrior Hammīra. Formerly Purushottama (Vishṇu) for the benefit of the world became personified in the Yadu family. He (Purushottama) conquers all the world and protects me. Now the description of the subordinates. May blessings attend the illustrious solar race, in which the king Nikumbha was born, whose descendant was Rāma. Of this race was the king Kṛṣṇarāja, a conqueror of kings, devoted solely to the Lord of Lakshmi ; whose mind is expanded in revering gods and Brahmans, who has no equal in the qualities of bravery, liberality, discrimination, and prowess, and who by love (gained) the title of Dharmarāja, possessed by the best of the Pāṇavas. From him (Kṛṣṇarāja) Indrarāja obtained his bodily descent, who was

‡ In the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra. Prabhākara and Murali Miśra were the founders of two other schools, besides Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.

† The three sciences (Śāntaras) are Gaṇita, Hoṛā, and Saṁhitā

of large intellect exalted by prowess, a hero who filled the heads of the eyes of his enemies with terror. His son, discreet among the virtuous, and a high-priest to give the vow of widowhood to the wives of feudatories, whose qualities, are exalted, a store-house of merit, clever on horseback like Revanta, was Govana ; on seeing whom, Cupid, who is proud of his beauty, abandoned his bodily form.

From Govana, the ocean of jewels, issued Sonhadeva, the praise of whose merit is wide-spread, who conquered the circle of enemies, an Indra among kings, who praises Vāsudeva, a castle\* of adamant to those who sought his protection, who looked upon others' wives as his sisters, a Yudhishthira...in vows and in the path of truth, and ever a fearful fever to the wives of his enemies.

His younger brother, Hemādideva, rules a country of 116 villages,† with forts and towns, since Sonhadeva went to heaven;‡ in liberality like the son of the Sun (Karna), in bravery like Arjuna, celebrated in the race of Nikumbha, the mark on the forehead of kings (i. e. chief among kings?), the son of Govana, whose hand is a lion to the elephant enemies of Singhana, whose mind is expanded in the good son of Nanda (Krshna), may he be happy for a long time.

In the Sāṅgilya family was Trivikrama, best of poets. His son was Bhāṣkara-bhatta, to whom Bhojarāja gave the title of Vidyapati. From him was Govinda-sarvajña, like Govinda. From him was a son Prabhāṣkara, as if he was another sun. From him was Manoratha, a fulfiller of the wishes of the virtuous ; from him was the great poet Maheśvarāchārya, whose feet are embraced by assemblages of poets, a bulb of the excellent creeper of the science of the Vedas, who obtained the favour of the feet of the enemy of Kansa (Krshna), who has a seat among (or who has conquered) the Brahmans

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\* Cage, in the original.

† Or 1600 villages.

‡ The following adjectives are equally applicable to the brothers Sonhadeva and Hemādideva.

with universal knowledge, with whose disputes there is nowhere any person to dispute. Full of good fame and merit was Bhāskara. The learned Bhāskara's son was Lakshmidhara, the first among the learned ; acquainted with the meaning of the Vedas, the first among metaphysicians, and skilful in the knowledge of sacrificial ceremonies. Jātrapaḥla, having recognized him as well-versed in the meanings of all the Śāstras, took him from this pura (town) and made him the chief of Paṇḍitas. His (Lakshmidhara's) son was Changadeva, the best of the astronomers and astrologers at the court of Singhana Chakravartin. He (Changadeva) constructs the college (Maṭha) for the spread of the treatises composed by Bhāskarāchārya. The works composed by Bhāskarāchārya, the chief of which is the Siddhānta Śiromani, and the works of his ancestors and descendants, ought to be duly studied in my college. Sonhadeva granted ground, with gold, etc., to the college ; others have also made some grants (?). Future kings ought to protect this, for the increase of merit. The syllable *sa* between two syllables follows *svasti*. In the year 1128 Śaka in the year Prabhava, in the Śrāvana month, full moon, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, Sonhadeva, in the presence of the people, having thrown water into the hands, granted\* to the college of his preceptors as follows. (The succeeding portion is mostly written in a form of old Marathi, corresponding to the Khāndesī. This is more difficult to make out than Sanskrit ; but the purport appears to be :) certain rates were levied on the oil-mills, sugar manufactories, on the total revenue collected (?) and on the corn, for the support of the college. (Again in Sanskrit :) in the same way, ground distinguished by the four boundaries 306 (?). Villages (again Khāndesī)—two syllables lost—some letters have not been made out..... Paṇḍitas.....chauras of ground.... Dhāmaji's ground (?).

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\* A syllable lost : the word means a place, but here is evidently intended to mean the first gifts, Agradhāna.

## XX.

*The Ancient Sanskrit Numerals in the Cave Inscriptions, and on the Sâh-Coins, correctly made out ; with Remarks on the Era of Śālivāhana and Vikramāditya.*

IN 1837 Mr. James Prinsep published an article on the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals. He correctly noticed certain symbols to be numbers in Dr. Burn's copper-plate grants from Kaira. In three of them the numerals were given after the word Samvatsara, and in each instance the date was entered at full length in words. There was therefore no doubt of the numerical value of the respective symbols, though there was no clue to the era from which the dates were reckoned. This led Mr. Prinsep to examine Mr. Wathen's copper-plate grants, from which he made out a symbol for "three hundred+some unknown unit." The Bhilsa inscriptions were also examined, and a symbol for "nine" was made out. This also led Mr. Prinsep to examine the Surāshtra coins, on which he had remarked behind the head on the obverse, besides a legend in corrupted Greek characters, a few strange marks, "not at all like either Greek or Sanskrit alphabetical characters."\*

Mr. Prinsep was perfectly correct in assuming the symbols to be numerals, but in regard to the value of several of them he was completely mistaken. Mr. Prinsep gave the following as the results of his researches :—

|            |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |     |   |
|------------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|---|
| 1          | 2  | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10? | 0 |
| १?         | २? | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | १०  | ० |
| Varieties? | १  | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९   | ० |

Mr. Prinsep's errors originated from want of attention to the side strokes on the symbol which he assumed to be three, and to the assumption that the value of the symbols depended on their position according to the decimal system.

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\* Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII. p. 350.—Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, Vol. II. p. 73.

Mr. E. Thomas, in a learned Memoir of the Dynasty of the Sâh Kings of Surâshtra,\* clearly demonstrated what Mr. Prinsep suspected—"that these signs were uniformly independent symbolical numerals, each denoting in itself a given number, irrespective of any relative collocation; and therefore, that the symbol ॐ was equivalent to 'three hundred' wherever it might be found, and likewise that the ॐ and ॐ ॐ stood for 80 and 90 respectively, whatever position they might chance to occupy."

To quote the same learned Numismatist: "I then proceeded to distinguish those symbols of the Sâh coin dates that declared themselves severally units, tens, or hundreds, by their fixed place in the order of value, which was always fitly maintained, notwithstanding that the figures themselves clearly could not change their signification by any relative re-arrangement. Beyond this, I cannot claim to have advanced the inquiry in any essential degree. The important aid that otherwise might have served me in the subsequent classification of the numbers,—the test of their recurrence on the coins of the Sâh Kings,—was altogether wanting, from the fact that the order of the succession of those princes was in itself undetermined."†

In the following notes in the Article on the Dynasty of the Sâh Kings of Surâshtra, Mr. Thomas was very nearly on the point of discovering the true value of the symbol ॐ, to which both he and Mr. Prinsep assigned the value of 300.‡:—

"A consideration that undoubtedly tends to cause distrust in the conclusiveness of the decision, which assigns the value of 300 to all the known forms of the symbol ॐ, arises

\* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 83, note 1.

† Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 80.

‡ Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII. p. 85, foot-note 1.

from the circumstance of its appearing as the unvarying representative of the hundreds on both the coins and inscriptions [the *Multye pates*, J. A. S. B., VI. 370, may possibly prove an exception to this rule], and the singular coincidence which results from the facts that, among the many dated coins now capable of citation, and the fair proportion of *figure-dated* copper-plate grants at present known, not only must each and all, under this view of the case be dated in 300 and odd, but likewise, strange to say, the same identical hundreds as found on these different monuments must of necessity be referred to totally distinct cycles, whose initial epochs are removed from each other by an interval of some centuries at the very least.

"These observations lead naturally to the inquiry, whether, in the early stages of progressive improvement in notation, it may not have been possible that, whereas we find a striking want of variety in the outlines, and a marked absence of ingenuity in the expression of the distinctive forms of the decimal cyphers, that so, in like manner, the changes in the definition of the different hundreds may have been in part effected by minor and subsidiary additions to a fixed symbol, as is still practised in the entire Tibetan numerical system. It will be seen that there is a palpable variation in the form and numbers of the side *spur* strokes in different examples of the figure 7, passing from the occasional entire omission of the mark to the use of one or two of these lines, and in some instances (No. 6, Pl. XX. Vol. VII., J. A. S. B.) the simple lower stroke is changed into a complete subjunctive curve, making in itself a second character, similar to the body of the old alphabetical letter 5 N. But, on the other hand, it will not fail to be remarked that there is much latitude discoverable in the expression of many of the unit figures, whose complete identity of value there is but little reason to discredit, and hence that it would be unsafe to assume a difference of power to be conveyed in the one case, by what is possibly a mere

flourish, which could not be similarly claimed for a ~~any~~ modification in another."\*

Beyond these important remarks on the side spur strokes, Mr. Thomas was not enabled to advance our knowledge of Ancient Sanskrit Numerals.

The next important elucidation which this subject has received, consists in the observations on the dates found in the Násik caves, by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson.†

Dr. Stevenson gave the correct value of the symbol for 10, for 20, and for 8 ; but the symbol for 1,000 was only partially made out ; in other respects he made no progress, but introduced several errors of his own, particularly in the symbol which he gives for 100. A careful examination of the inscriptions in the caves of Násik, Kárlén, and Kánheri, but especially of the first, has enabled me to fix the value of the symbols beyond a doubt. I now proceed to give the result of my researches in regard to the Ancient Sanskrit Numerals leaving the inscriptions at large to be published at some future opportunity.

The symbol for 100 is, as I shall show, ७ ; 200 are represented by the symbol for one hundred with one side spur stroke ७ ; 300 by two side spur strokes ७ ; the symbol for 400 has not been found. Strange to say, the symbol for 500 is not 4 placed after the symbol of 100, but the number 5 itself joined.

The symbol for one thousand resembles the Devanágari figure for one (१) ; the addition of one stroke (७) makes it represent two thousand, or double the value as in the case of hundreds ; and of two strokes (७) three thousand, or three times the value. To represent four thousand the figure 4 is joined to the symbol for one thousand (७) ; in the same way the figure 8 is placed after and joined to the symbol of

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\* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, p. 35.

† Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, p. 35.

One thousand (9) represent eight thousand (9). There are other numbers represented by symbols and spelt in words, which are subjoined,—

SIK CAVE, NO. 23 OF MR. BRETT'S PLAN.\*

In the inscription of Gotamīputra Śātakarni, the following symbols occur :—

The third [१८३-४] कलानिदे २०० . two hundred, 200.

" " " 5 " ... ..

sixth ཁྲིའུ་རྒྱལ་བཟང་པོ་སྐུ་གདམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༨ .. in the 18th year.

... tenth **१०** ... **१००** ... one hundred, 100.

„ eleventh **पुनर्दिना** in the 24th year.

twelfth **ਤ੍ਵੰਦਸ਼** दिवसि १० ... on the 10th day.

" " **ନିଆଁମୁଠି** ବ୍ୟବସାୟ and in the fourth,  
R 4th year.

" " **ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय** on the fifth, 5th day.

... in the (?) demi-lunation.

**CAVE No. 16.**

In a nearly discovered inscription regarding the A'bhíra dynasty, there is in—

Line tenth २=१५ ३ ... ... two (२)

eleventh **एकसप्तशत** इत्तानि पंच ५०० five hundred 500.

**CAVE No. 8.**

**Inscription by the wife of the Commander-in-chief of  
Yajnyasri Satakarni :—**

Line first १।८६ ११।८५ १ सप्तदशे वातजे • in the year seven, 7.

„ „  $U\bar{2}A\bar{2}U \equiv$  पक्षे तन्निरे १ ... in the demi-lunation  
three 3.

**CAVE No. 16.**

### Inscription of Ushavadāta :—

Line first འུཤྱུཅེན་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་ . . in the year 42.

Line second  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः}$  ...

... and, 3000.

„ „ १२०० ... 2000 ... spelling in words.

„ third  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः २०००}$  Kāśānanaś.  
two thousand, 2000.

„ ' १ ... 1000 (no spelling in words).

„ fourth  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः ८०००}$   
8000 ... eight thousand.

„ „  $\text{अश्वमेधः ४०}$  ... in the year forty, 40.

„ „  $\text{अश्वमेधः ४५}$  ... in the year 45

„ \*fifth  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः ४०००}$   
four thousand, 4000.

#### CAVE No. 23.

In another inscription of Gotamiputra :—

Line first  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः १९}$   
एकविंशति १९ ... in the nineteenth (19) year.

„  $\text{पुत्रः २०००}$  पञ्चमिनीये २ ... in the second demi-lunation.

„  $\text{अश्वमेधः १३}$  दिने तैरि १३  
on the thirteenth (13) day.

#### IN ANOTHER INSCRIPTION BELOW :—

Line second  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः १९}$  ... (Samvatsar) year  
nineteen (19).

„ „  $\text{अश्वमेधः २}$  ... Gi. Pa. two (2) i.e. Gimha  
Pakhe) in the second  
demi-lunation in the  
summer season.

„ „  $\text{अश्वमेधः १३}$  ... on the thirteenth (13) day.  
third  $\text{अश्वमेधः ७}$  ... on the seventh (7) day.

#### CAVE No. 4.

Line first  $\text{नृपतिपुत्रः कदाचिद्वर्षः ६}$  in the sixth (6) year.

\* The letter  $\text{नृ}$  is undoubtedly a mistake of the engraver, and ought to be  $\text{च}$ —cha—chatai (four)

**ERLEN OR VALURAKA HILL CAVE.**

In an inscription, the mendicant Harapharana, the son of Satumana—

**Line ୫୩** ଧନୁ ମାସ ୨୪ ବର୍ଷରେ ୨୪ in (the year) twenty-four, 24.

... in the 3rd (demi-lunation.)

३।५२५ = दिवसे बिलीये २... on the 2nd day.

14<sup>th</sup> Somadeva's Inscription, dated in the 7th year of Padumavi—

Line first. 山入 7 年 5 月 3 日 在第七(7)年.

... in the 5th (demi-lunation).

“ second **UOX**—पषने ; ... on the first (1) day.

*In a Chaitya Cave at Junner, on the Bhima Sankara Hill—*

At its middle the following number is to be found :—

Line second **E 177556** पनरख १५ .. fifteen, 15.

IN CAVE NO. 1.

**In the inscription of an officer of Ushavadāta :—**

Line fourth **ᱠᱚᱢᱚᱦᱚ** **ᱦᱚᱱᱚ** **ᱦᱚᱱᱚ** ... in the year 46.

KĀ'NHERI CAVES, No. 30.

Line ninth ५५०६१५२-०३ कदापयानं

... two hundred (200)

**Kārshāpapas.**

**CAVE No. 43.**

Line first **988** ... (in spelling) in the year seven hundred and ninety-nine (799).

IN THE JUNAGAR INSCRIPTION OF RUDRA DA MA.

Line four  $\bar{h} = \dots$  ... in the year of Rudra Déma  
seventy-two (72).

### ON COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

३४३ = 394 ... Kaira, Dr. Burn, in words and figures.

**Do. = 380** ... **Do.** do.

**ଅଫିସ୍** 385 ... **No.** do.

## VALABHI PLATES.

• 𑀧𑀭𑀮=376.

𑀧𑀭𑀮=310.

𑀧𑀭𑀮=347.

𑀧𑀭𑀮=346.

𑀧𑀭-332.

BHUSA INSCRIPTION No 7

(Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal,) vol VI p 454.)

𑀧𑀭=93

INSCRIPTION 2ND

𑀧𑀭𑀮=332

## ANCIENT INDIAN NUMERALS.

| Nos  | Numerals. | Nos   | Numerals. |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------|
| 1    | —         | 60    |           |
| 2    | ==        | 70    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 3    | ≡         | 80    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 4    | 𑀧         | 90    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 5    | 𑀧𑀭        | 100   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 6    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 200   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 7    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 300   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 8    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 400   |           |
| 9    | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 500   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| • 10 | 𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀭      | 1,000 | 𑀧         |
| 20   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 2,000 | 𑀧𑀭        |
| 30   | 𑀧         | 3,000 | 𑀧𑀭        |
| 40   | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       | 4,000 | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |
| 50   |           | 8,000 | 𑀧𑀭𑀮       |

The Nagari inscription, I find, contains a great number of numerical symbols, but none of them are spelt in words. Roman gifts of cows (or perhaps coins equivalent to them), elephants, carts, sapakas, and perhaps clothes. When these gifts were made at a great variety of Yajnas or sacrifices, and a study of these will, I trust, enable me to find the exact number of the objects granted, as these are regulated by the ceremonial portion of the Vedas. The King who made these grants appears to have been a predecessor of the Andhra Padumávi, of the family Sátaváhana, and by name probably Vedaári.

A correct decipherment of the inscriptions having enabled me to ascertain the true value of the various numerical symbols, it struck me that there would now be no difficulty in reading the exact dates on the "Sáh Coins of Suráshtra." On looking at these, it appeared that both Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Thomas had read the first numerical symbol in the place of hundreds, as if it did not vary in any of the coins; but it was clear to me that in some, the symbol was the plain one for 100, and in others for 200; accordingly a correct reading of these dates would, I thought, enable a Numismatist to arrange the "Sáh" dynasty in chronological order. I therefore repaired to our learned Vice-President, the Honorable Mr. Newton, whose acquaintance with the "Sáh" coins is minute and accurate. In going over the large and beautiful collection of coins in his cabinet, the arrangement, according to the dates as I now read them, agreed in a most remarkable manner with that which Mr. Newton had already drawn up from a most careful study of the coins for several years. I therefore left the subject of the Sáh coins, their dates, and arrangement in the hands of Mr. Newton, who will no doubt furnish the Society with a luminous paper on the subject. I have placed about 300 Sáh coins in my own collection at his service,

I have now only to offer a few remarks on the era, in which, I think, the Sáh coins are dated. In former papers,

I have attempted to identify the Padma with the Siripulomēi of Ptolemy, and Sveta grandfather of Rudra Dāma, with the Ujjayini, noticed by the same geographer. Dāma at the end of the second century of the era, and as we have got his son's coins, bearing date upwards, the only era which would place Rudra Dāma at the end of the 2nd century is that of Śalivāhana, or Sakanripakāla, which commences 78 years after Christ. The Nāsik inscriptions in particular show that Ushavadata, who is called a Saka, and who was the son-in-law of King Kshaharāta Mahākshatrapa Nāhāpāna, adopted an era, which counted in his time under fifty. I am therefore inclined to look upon it as the era of Kshaharāta, or Shrabates, one of the Arsacidæ. The so-called Sāha are all Satraps; the type of their coins is that of the Arsacidæ rather than that of the Bactrian Greek kings. The very expression Sakanripa or the Saka king, which all the old copper-plates and MSS. employ, indicates a Saka or Scythian king. The Sakanripa Kāla is observed over a great part of India, in Burmah, Java, and Bālī; in fact in those countries to which Buddhism was carried from India at the commencement of the Christian era, and corresponding to the spread of the Saka or Scythians over the peninsula of India. It is not likely therefore, that the era prevalent over so large a portion of the globe was derived from the exploits of a humble prince, Śalivāhana, whose capital was Paithan on the Godāvarī, as is commonly supposed. Indeed the word Śalivāhana does not occur in any ancient records or manuscript. A Śatavāhana dynasty appears to have reigned at Paithan about the time that the Parthian Satraps ruled over Gujarat, a portion of the Dekkan and the Konkan; and the utmost that can be granted is that the Hindus of modern times have preferred calling the era of the great Saka king by that of a contemporary Hindu Prince at Paithan. I now begin to entertain serious doubt

The name of the dity era also. I believe that era also  
 the Buddhists or rather the Jainas, and it  
 number of the story obtained by Megasthenes over  
 gifts of alms, fifty-three years before Ch  
 number that there is a difference of four y  
 between the Christian era and the birth of Christ; we can  
 easily understand the Vikramaditya era being dated 57 years  
 before the Christ. But I hope to return to this subject at length  
 on another occasion.

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